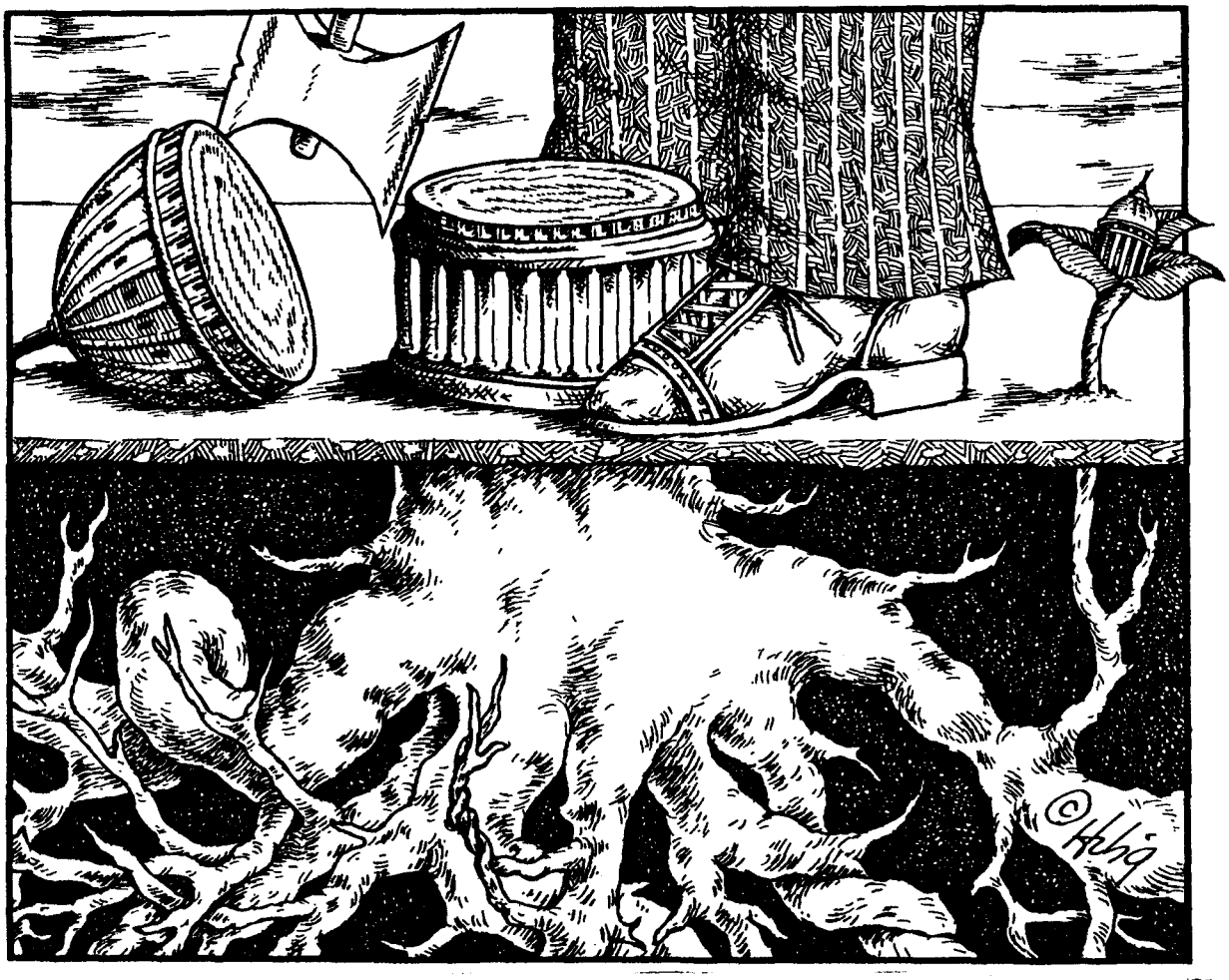
NUMBER 249
JULY-AUGUST 1985

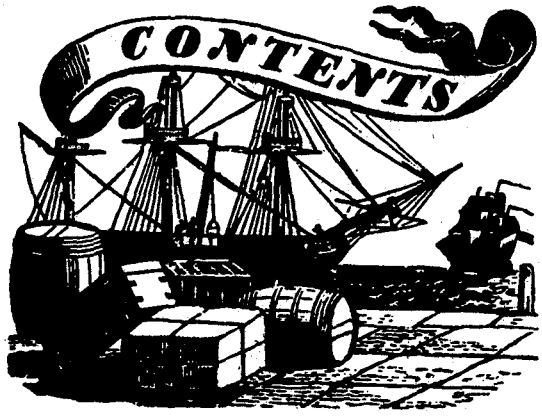
The Progressive Review



DEMOCRATIC AGENDAS

GREENS IN THE US

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Weather Report....3
Greens in America....10
Agenda for the Democrats: Tom Hayden....13
How the Democrats Can Get Out of Their Mess: Sam Smith....21
The Fifty-First State: Killing the Georgetown Goose....26
Who Spoke Up: Protesting the Vietnam War....29
Thought and Action....31
The Reagan File....34
Wordways: Mike Bell....36
Chuck Stone on Nelson Mandela....38
Walter Mitty Goes to Washington: Martin Oram....39
London Letter: Des Wilson....40
Charles McDowell on Lee Iacocca....42
Apple Pie....47

We're 19 years old this issue!

Published approximately ten times a year. Single copies by mail are $1 each. Ten issue subscription: $6. Twenty issue subscription: $10. The Review uses the services of Pacific News Service, Rip'n'Read News Service, College Press Service and HerSay News Service.The Review welcomes articles and letters but unfortunately cannot pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped self-addressed envelope if you wish the material returned. Deadline for editorial and advertising matter is the 15th of the month.

EDITOR: Sam Smith
CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS: Charles McDowell, Chuck Stone, Eugene McCarthy, Des Wilson, Mike Bell
CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW
1739 Connecticut Ave NW DC 20009
202-232-5544

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wartime defense budget

RECON reports that, after correcting for inflation, the president's requested budget for the military this year was higher than the most costly year of either the Vietnam or Korean war.

Here are the figures:

FY 1952 Korean War $309 bil.
FY 1968 Vietnam War $257 bil.
FY 1986 Reagan War? $314 bil.

Crime drops; fear climbs

Crime dropped 4.5% in 1984 but a Roper Poll, reports that personal worries about crime and lawlessness are at an 11 year high. Forty-two percent of Americans picked crime as the nation's top issue — up 8 percentage points from 1984.

Expanding the library

A media production center providing free equipment for producing graphic materials has opened at the Columbus, Ohio, public library. Included is equipment for mounting, laminating, transparency and slide production, drafting, visual and audio production, binding and general media work. Materials must be provided by the user but the library sells at cost, individual pieces of materials that must normally be purchased in bulk. There are staff members to instruct users. [Columbus Free Press]

Subminimum wage

The idea of a subminimum wage for teenagers has enough illusory appeal that the National Conference of Black Mayors (although not all black mayors) has gone for the idea. In other quarters, though, it's being referred to as the Fast Food Relief Act of 1985 and the Burger Billl, because the fast food industry stands to save billions if the law is enacted. That industry is staying

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neutral on the plan because, apparently, it feels it's bad public relations to be seen supporting a lower wage for the core of its employment, but the effect behind the counter could be substantial. The fast food industry operates on what is called the secondary employment market, relying heavily on part-time workers with less job protection and benefits. One union official claims McDonald's has a 600% turnover rate — and doesn't mind it. With a subminimum wage, this official argues, "It's like musical chairs. Each time the music stops, a youth will sit down and an adult will be left standing."

Further, the existing minimum wage is nothing to brag about. Opponents of the subminimum wage argue that the minimum wage, in real dollars, has eroded from $3.35 in 1981 to $2.80. Also, the minimum wage is at its lowest level relative to the average wage since 1938. Given that the part-time worker, because of lower benefits, is already working at a below standard wage, one would expect to see the alleged benefits already demonstrating themselves in industries that have turned to the secondary market. There is little indication that this is the case. Professor Bernard E. Anderson, visiting fellow at Princeton, also points out that between 1978 and 1980 the government had a program that paid all wages and benefits for disadvantaged youths who promised to return to school at the end of summer. despite a "zero wage base," employers hired only 21% of the 76,000 youths signed up for the program. Says Anderson, "If private sector employers are reluctant to hire youths at no cost, it is difficult to believe substantially more jobs will be created simply by reducing the minimum wage."

Frivolous penalties revoked

In a letter to the New York Daily News, Representative Mario Biaggi reports that the IRS has backed off its practice of charging a penalty for a "frivolous" return" against people who filed an accurate return with payment but who included a protest statement. Biaggi said that the IRS had written him saying: "We have no desire to penalize or punish dissent unconnected with the self-assesment process as long as the correct tax liability is shown. . .If the tax return appears acceptable in all respects and the taxpayer adds any additional comments, the penalty is not asessed. We have directed reversal of penalty assessments where there was substantial doubt."

Silicon junkies

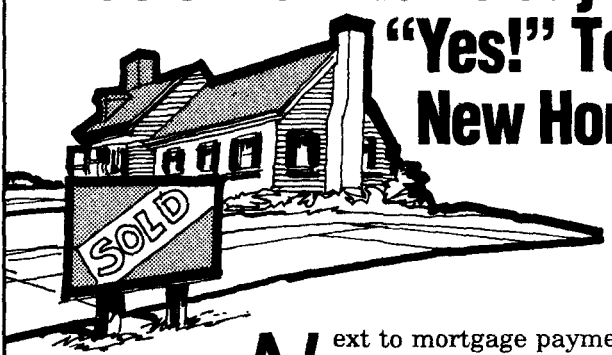
A confidential survey of high-tech workers in Silicon Valley reveals that 29% of them admit using marijuana, cocaine or pills on the job. 34% say they regularly work under the influence of alcohol. And two out of three workers say they come to work late, or leave early.

Sunflowers and pollution

Researchers in Japan may have come up with a way to reduce air pollution from cars: just plant

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

High-Efficiency Gas Appliances Make It Easier For You To Say "Yes!" To A New Home.



Next to mortgage payments, utility bills are the largest single monthly housing expense. So it makes sense to look for high-efficiency, energy-saving gas appliances when you shop for a new home.

Natural gas is the most economical, efficient fuel available. And modern technology makes the new, high-efficiency gas appliances better energy savers than ever before. Most new furnaces, water heaters, ranges and dryers are equipped with special energy-conserving features designed to use less gas and save you more money.

If you're looking for a new home to say "Yes!" to, start by making sure the ones you consider feature high-efficiency gas appliances.

Natural Gas Is The Natural Choice!

Washington Gas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sunflowers next to the road. The plants gobble up the nitrogen wastes in exhaust fumes. The Japanese national pollution research center says a 22-yard-wide greenbelt of sunflowers will take care of pollutants from a 100,000 cars.

Insurance companies nix waste

The Citizens Clearinghouse on Hazardous Wastes reports that the insurance industry is pulling out of pollution coverage. "Bhopal pushed a lot of insurers off the fence," says American Cyanimid's director for corporate insurance Thomas A. Caldwell, Jr. Nearly all insurance underwriters have decided to drop or reduce coverage for "sudden and non-sudden" incidents. Policies still being written are going to cost 2-5 times more for less coverage. CCHW thinks the change will mean that small companies will either operate illegally without insurance, go bankrupt or be bought out by the big companies which will self-insure.

The Stark-Chafeee tax reform plan

In the enthusiasm for tax reform, relatively little attention has been paid to the disruptions in the economy that could occur if a massive change in the tax system were adopted at one legislative sitting. Rep. Pete Stark and Sen. John Chafee have proposed legislation that would provide for an across-the-board cut in the value of personal itemized deductions of ten percent and reduces all other tax preferences by 20%. Writing in People & Taxes, Stark says: "We can not go cold turkey. We cannot abruptly wean *** industries from long-established economic relationships. The tax code is an enormous cat's cradle of incentives. The economy is honeycombed with industries directed or heaviliy influenced by the tax code. Numerous individual and corporate investment decisions are rooted in the code." The sort of phase-in suggested by Stark and Chafee could, of course, be used with any tax reform measure.

Tax breaks but little incentive

A study by Citizens for Tax Justice indicates that investment credits and other tax reductions instituted for corporations during the early 80s failed in their purported goal of spurring investment spending. Following the 1981 tax cuts the 50 lowest-taxed companies got average refunds of 8% and at the same reduced their capital investments by 21 percent. Meanwhile, the 50 highest taxed corporations paid an average tax of 33% and increased their investment spending by four percent during 1981-1983.

CLASSIFIEDS

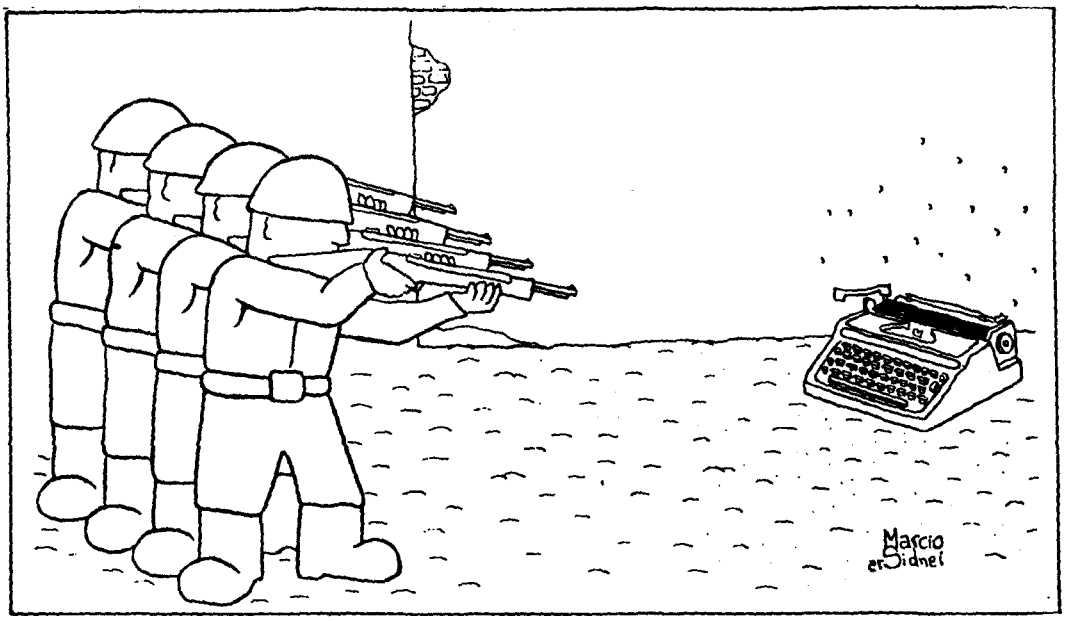
Classified ads are ten cents a word. Count your own words and send payment with ad to the Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave NW, DC 20009

HOW TO EARN MONEY AS A CONSULTANT including specimen contracts. Special systems recently adopted by major consultancies and CIA. $39. Business Psychology Int'l. GPO 235-56, Boston, Mass. 02159.

HORROR TALES of chemical and biological warfare. Send $8.95 (includes handling) for **A Higher Form of Killing,** 274 pages, to RECON, Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY now available! Good for networking, publicity. Subscription details on 400 periodicals about peace, health, environment, culture, international . . . entire left. $4 from Box E-120574, Nashville 37212.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



--Lancaster Independent Press

Draft penalties go up

A little-publicized revision of the federal criminal code may have a big impact on draft violators. Nonregistrants could be among the first to be affected by the Comprehensive Crime Control Act and the Criminal Fine Enforcement Act, new laws passed at the end of Congress' 1984 session that standardize penalties for felonies.

In the case of draft violations (which are felonies), the new penalties will increase the maximum fine from $10,000 to $250,000. The new fines will affect those whose offenses took place after December 31, 1984.

All of those who are currently being prosecuted for refusal to register are in a vague area of the law. All were required to register before the legislation went into effect. However, the courts have not yet settled the question as to whether or not nonregistration is a one-time offense or a continuing offense. If the courts decide that these nonregistrants have continued to violate the law by refusal to register after December 31, then fines higher than $10,000 might be imposed.

The new laws also increase the maximum prison sentence for draft violations from five to six years beginning November, 1986. This new prison term, however, will be among those reviewed by a "U.S. Sentencing Commission" which is scheduled to publish new "sentencing guidelines" in November, 1986.

The freeze and the media

In the June issue of Mother Jones magazine, Mark Hertsgaard argues that the nuclear freeze movement is being ignored by the national media. There has been "a virtual blackout in national news media coverage of the freeze during the past two years," he charges.

Meanwhile, reports Mother Jones, an October 1984 Gallup Poll found that 78 percent of the public support a bilaterial, verifiable nuclear freeze; a Yankelovich poll conducted about the same time concluded that 61 percent favor a *unilateral* six-month freeze on weapons development to see if the Russians would follow suit.

- Seymour Melman has stepped down after 20 year's as chair of SANE's board of directors. Marcus Raskin has taken over as new co-chair along with William Winpisinger.

- The NACCP and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations are getting together to try to repair the alliance between blacks and Jews.

- The New Jersey Division of Civil Rights has ruled that three all-male eating clubs at Princeton Univeristy had violated state laws by disciminating against women.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

The new format is wonderful, with two exceptions: pages 10 & 11 and 14 & 15; they were glued together so as to obscure one-half a column on each page. That aside, however, the Review's new shape is much easier to handle and keep intact. Thanks.

I am a student at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and (with some fellow students & faculty) am organizing a group called P.E.A.C.E. (Peace Ecological Awareness & Cooperation for Equality) Your Review is very useful to us in terms of ideas and education on the issues. One thing we would like to see is more information on how/ where groups can buy (or rent) films, tapes, leaflets and other publications.

K.Q.
Maiden, NC

(Sorry about the stuck pages. This seems to have been ironed out, but if any subscribers have problems in the future, let us know and we'll send you another issue.)

So why aren't we hearing about the freeze on national news or reading about it in the newsweeklies? Time and Newsweek editors interviewed by Mother Jones cited the failure of Alan Cranston's freeze-oriented presidential bid and the failure of the other candidates to take up the issue. This attitude is typical of mainstream journalism, says Hertsgaard: "Popular movements become worthy of serious coverage only when they produce an effect within the formal political system."

The ribbon and the Pentagon

On August 4, the anniversary of the nuclear razing of Hiroshima, Justine Merritt is going to wrap a mile-long ribbon around the Pentagon. But not just any ribbon. This one will be appliqued, quilted, and embroidered by thousands of hands. It will depict families, friends, children, flowers, dogs, and cats – everything, in Merritt's words, "I could not bear to think of as lost forever in a nuclear war."

The ribbon project has taken over the 61-year-old former high-school teacher's life. She is putting out a newsletter with a circulation of 8,500, coordinating the joining of ribbon segments from various parts of the country, and lining up portable toilets for the event.

The Pentagon has agreed not to interfere so long as exits remain clear and no part of the ribbon touches the building. "This was God's idea," says Merritt. "My part was that I didn't argue. The ribbon is a gentle reminder that we love the earth and all its people."

LA settles comparative worth suit

In what the city's mayor said may be the easiest comparable worth negotiation in the nation, Los Angeles has settled on a $36 million pay hike for three thousand city workers, without going to court.

Said Mayor Tom Bradley, "Los Angeles is the first major city to reach an agreement on comparable worth without litigation or a costly study." The agreement affects clerical workers and librarians. Its terms include special 15 percent raises over three years that will bring clerical jobs held predominantly by women into line with pay for manual labor jobs held by men.

Extra foreign aid

The Commerce Department says the mounting national debt caused the US to pay out more last year to foreign investors than it did in foreign aid.

Electronic privacy

California may soon add electronic privacy to the list of rights guaranteed to residents. A proposed amendment to the state constitution would protect "electronic information systems and data bases against unreasonable seizures and searches." Legislator Gwen Moore says the measure would give constitutional protection to electronic mail, computer bulletin boards and the developing video-text industry.

Draft talk

"It's time to bring back the draft," says journalist Pete Hamill in the June issue of Mother Jones magazine. "I was one of the millions of Americans who were glad to see (the draft) go," writes Hamill. "But now, after a decade of American life without the draft, I think I was wrong."

During the Vietnam era, argues Hamill, the draft

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brought the realities of American foreign policy home. In today's America, he asserts, "guns are fired only on television, violence is acted out by Clint Eastwood, and if there is pain, discomfort, unhappiness, you merely call daddy collect and get some money to handle the problem. . . .

"Some instrument must be devised to make young people aware of the other America that the President chooses to ignore," continues Hamill. "That instrument should be a universal, democratic, national service draft." He argues for a draft that would include men and women, rich and poor – a draft that would offer a variety of national service options in addition to the military. Pete Hamill is available for interview.

Lead and the poor

Who's going to benefit most from the ban on lead in gasoline? A government report says...minority residents of the inner city. Researchers at the Argonne National Laboratory predict the 90 percent reduction in lead will mostly clean up the air in congested urban areas. What's more, poor people who don't own cars won't be much affected by higher prices at the gas pump. So who's going to pick up the tab? The study says suburbanites with big old cars will pay the most, while the air in their neighborhoods will show the least improvement.

Ecological time bomb

Scientists are calling it an "ecological time bomb." But it's not toxic waste or acid rain. It's frog's legs. The problem is most of the 200-million amphibians killed for gourmet tables each year come from India and Bangladesh, where they are a vital link in controlling harmful insects. Researchers say a continued slaughter of frogs could trigger an outbreak of malaria, or even famine as food stocks are destroyed. The Common Market is considering a ban on imported frog's legs, and there are more gastronomic battles ahead: conservationists are also getting worried about the increasing popularity of escargots. The edible version is already listed as "rare" by the International Union of Conservation of Nature.

Affirmative action works

A report by a Washington research institution is supplying new proof that affirmative action programs have, indeed, been of help to women and people of color.

The report by the Potomac Institute comes at a time when the Reagan Administration is publicly questioning the methods and goals of affirmative action programs. The study shows that women's share of the US job market increased from 34 percent to 41 percent during the 1970's, despite the fact that the decade was marked by high levels of both unemployment and inflation.

Not only that, women saw their largest gains in three top white-collar categories. The number of female officials and managers rose from 10 percent to 18 percent during the last decade; the number of women professionals from 25 to 38 percent; and the number of female technicians from 26 percent to 40 percent.

Blacks' share of the job market rose from 10 to 11 percent during this period. At the official-manager level, they saw a 104 percent increase.

Here are a few quotable quotes on defense spending and nuclear weapons issues:

- **Former CIA Director William Colby, addressing the question "Can We Trust the Russians?": "Yes, we can, and secondly, we don't have to. We can watch them." In regard to President Reagan's proposed "Star Wars" missile defense system, Colby said, "I happen to think it's in our interests also not to be faced with the kind of (nuclear) force the Soviets will build to penetrate a 'Star Wars.'"**
- **Robert Towman, president of the Institute for Space and Security Studies and former director of advance space programs for the Air Force, commented recently that the "Star Wars" system would be a "sitting duck" in space, to be easily "eliminated at any time of Soviet choosing." He added that "Star Wars" is "far more than is required to protect offensive missiles but far, far less than is required to protect people."**
- **Paul S. Brown, a physicist who is assistant associate director for arms control at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, a federal weapons research facility, said that few scientists believe the U.S. can achieve the "leakproof umbrella the President seeks." He remarked that "if only 1% of the tens of thousands of Soviet warheads were to leak through such a defense—it would be an unprecedented disaster. Our largest cities would be destroyed and many millions would die."**

--Steve Mouk, Columbus Free Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GREENS IN AMERICA

This report on the growing Green movement in America is from a recent issue of **Overthrow.**

Inspired in part by the Green Parties of Western Europe, and growing out of the experience of the anti-nuclear, ecology, feminist, peace, and alternative community movements of the past ten years, a variety of "green"-oriented groups have begun organizing.

"Green politics" as they have been defined in Germany, where the party has carried up to 12% in elections for the European Parliament and holds 28 seats in the Bundestag (the national parliament), are based on 4 principles (pillars): ecology, social responsibility, peace and nonviolence, and base democracy.

The common denominator in most U.S. groups is, at bottom line, an affinity for these "4 pillars," (though various locals have added additional pillars, and chosen to define their principles in a wide variety of ways).

The greens take their inspiration from ecology and as such, their movement is holistic. They emphasize the interrelationships between the domination and exploitation of nature, and the domination and exploitation of people. Everywhere they find themselves arrayed against both the conservative and liberal majorities; they seek a fundamental alternative to both consumptive capitalism and technocratic socialism.

The key ecological concept of the greens is sustainability, an acknowledgement of the constraints on both production and consumption imposed by the ecological parameters to which we are all ultimately accountable.

Peace is another of the Green pillars, and, for most greens, this means moving beyond the freeze and an anti-interventionist stance, to question our basic conepts of deterence and defense. The New England Greens, for example, call for unilateral disarmament and a "border defense" relying on "peoples militias" rather than a standing army.

Social responsibility is the green term for the principles of civil rights, and an equitable economic system which would redistribute wealth worldwide, and conserve and extend human rights and freedom. The greens however, once again drawing on an ecological paradigm, look for a reorganization of the economy based on the ideals of local self-reliance and long term ecological sustainability rather than the traditional leftist alternative of a centralized, state-controlled economic system.

Base democracy expresses the Greens concern with the empowerment of individuals and communities to make decisions that effect their lives. The Greens seek to create forums for the direct participation of their base; an active citizenry making decisions about the vital issues facing society. The greens counterpose this direct democracy to the representative democracy that now exists.

Within these broad principals the Greens are seeking to define themselves in relation to local conditions; programatic statements on issues and policies are emerging from the specific concerns of greens in their own communities and regions.

The Green Constituency

One striking aspect of this emerging social movement is the relative maturity of its participants. While young people and students are certainly involved, a large percentage of green activists seem to be in their mid-30's and 40's. People who came of age in the 60's and 70's are now looking for a political vehicle that will allow them to actualize the ideals of their youth. There is a utopian thrust to the greens. They're not afraid to give power to dreams, but their impulse is tempered by a reality principle that for many, grows out of 20 years of involvement in a variety of political movements.

Most have been active in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ecology, anti-nuclear, New Age, feminist, and the alternative and cooperative movements, tracing their roots either to the counter-culture or new left.

It is significant in this regard that Paul McIsaacs, one of New York's

foremost Greens, feels that German activists' refusal to accept a split into New Left and Countercultural wings (the split which has crippled U.S. leftist politics since Viet Nam) was the essential precondition for the emergence of the German Green Party.

Contrary to most change-oriented political movements in the U.S., many greens have eschewed a lowest common denominator coalition approach, to boldly state their highest apirations and hope that people dissatisfied by single-issue, special-interest politics will rally to their cause.

Unlike the Germans, greens in the United States seem for the moment to be drawn from a relatively narrow political spectrum. Conservatives have

The European parties have proven effective critics of the ruling elites, and their electoral success has brought them to the point of holding the balance of power in several regional parliaments. With success has come problems—problems faced by any oppositional movement entering into the parliamentary arena. The German green party is currently embroiled in a debate between its fundamentalist (fundi) and realist (realo) wings regarding the risks of coalition with the Social Democrats.

Such problems are, depending on your viewpoint, either fortunately or unfortunately, rather distant from the reality of U.S. Greens. Here, at an earlier stage of development, the two tendencies that have emerged—electoral and direct action—are also divided. Yet, if the green movement here develops the *inclusivity* of the Germans and brings in all its elements—if it matures it promises big changes.

The field is crowded with groups aspiring to the mantle of "Green Leadership" on the national level. There are at least four groups which present themselves as "national" green organizations and a multitude of local and regional networks—with more groups going Green all the time.

The green movement in the U.S. is still struggling to define itself but the basic glimmerings of the green position on the issues of the day are clear: Zero nukes. No intervention. Clean up the Planet. Anti-Corporate. Anti-Racism. Anti-Sexism. Base democracy, with Rotation.

Unity Thru Diversity

The most encouraging aspect of the Green development in the U.S. is its diversity. As befits a movement commited to decentralization and base democracy, the greens have emphasized local organizing instead of National party-building.

These local groups have been developing their own particular perspectives on the Green philosophy, and staying in touch with each other through two major national communication networks which have been started in the past year: the Inter-regional Committees of Correspondence and the North American Green Network.

The Inter-regional Comittee of Correspondence was founded in August at a meeting in Minneapolis which brought together 60 or more individuals from across the U.S. Inspired by the publication of *Green Politics* (Capra & Spretnick) and by the North American Bio-Regional Congress held in the Ozarks the previous May, the weekend meeting in Minneapolis, criticized by some as an elitist gathering, nonetheless served to spark local organizing activity nationwide.

The first inter-regional Committee of Correspondence consisted of 6 representatives: David Haenke of the Ozark Bioregional Conference, Catherine Burton of Seattle, Elinor LaCaine from Berkeley, Bob Koehler for Los Angeles, Paul

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McIssacs for the NorthEast, and Harry Boyt of Minneapolis who took charge of the National Office. Subsequently Boyt was censured for misusing his position by putting out literature which tried to take the greenish tone out of the politics of the Committees of Correspondence. In the the aftermath of this, the C of C met in a (presumably because of some dissarray) closed session in Berkeley.

The C of C has yet to clearly define its purpose or its structure, but it seems to have positioned itself to draw from a broad political spectrum, ranging from anarchists to electoralists. The original Minneapolis meeting had funding from the Threshold Foundation (a committee of new age philanthropists). It has played a role in the creation of a potentially effective network of green groups.

The North American Green network, founded by Yippies, RAR and others who worked on protests at the democratic and republican conventions (most notably the War Chest Tours), and are less-concerned with electoral activity. NAGN is less concerned with playing a coordinating role than acquainting different local organizations with each other's positions by establishing direct communication between Greens through a computer-based electronic communication network which allows the "base to talk to the base."

They have about 30 terminals in the Network, including LA Greens, S.F., Portland, Oregon, Seattle, the Rainbow Guide in Boise, New Mexican Greens, Texas Political Prisoners Front, Iowa Greens, Minneapolis Rockwell Project, Chicago Puplic Eye, Madison Greens, Columbus and Cleveland Greens, Atlanta, Gainesville, D.C., Philly, New York and the New England Network. The network manager is Russell Braen, (202)265-0680.

They hold monthly computer conferences which also involve link-ups with representatives of the German Greens, other European activists, and the Japanese Peace Movement. Questions have been raised as to whether these conferences are truly representative, or merely reflect the activities of isolated green-oriented "hackers."

The National Green scene involves other groups as well. The U.S. Green Party, an early and not very credible organizational effort based in California has not been heard from as late, despite claims last year of "30,000 members and 3 million supporters."

The Washington-based Eurolinks group has served as a contact for those interested in the European Green Movements, distributing literature and arranging tours for German Greens. They were, briefly, the official U.S. reps of the German Greens, *but* their official status was revoked last November at the Green Party Congress in Hamburg. The mantle of "official green" representation still goes unclaimed, though many aspire to it.

The fragmented Citizens Party came together briefly last August in Minneapolis (on the same weekend the C of C was meeting across town) to nominate Sonja Johnson for President and to adopt a party platform based on that of the British Ecology (Green) Party; but, after throwing her support to Mondale-Ferraro, Sonja Johnson has not been highly visible, nor has the Citizens Party, although at least one of their locals participates in the Computer Conference, via Minneapolis.

Greater New York Organizing

The experience of the N.Y. Greens can act as a model for others around the country interested in starting their own green organizations.

Several organizers returned from the C of C meetings in Minneapolis resolved to create a green organizing presence in N.Y. They contacted activists with whom they had worked over the past 10 years in the Anti-Nuke, Peace, Feminist, Bio-regional and community movements. After an initial meeting to form an organizing committee they called a public meeting inviting interested personal contacts, representatives from groups which seemed to share a "green" perspective, and people from the N.Y. area who had written to the C of C in response to a brief article which had appeared in the *Nation*.

25 people attended the first meeting where a general discussion of the green concept was held. The group decided to meet again and mailed 200 invitations to a meeting held the following month to discuss ecology and the green idea. 90 people showed up at that meeting which led to the formation of an agenda committee which organized a third meeting focusing on green principles. 150 people came to the next meeting, held at a local university. A variety of committees formed to draft statements further refining the principles (now 6) the N.Y. Greens have adopted: Ecology, base democracy, social responsibility, community economics, peace/nonviolence, and supportive human relations. Despite record-breaking cold, over 100 people returned the following month for discussion of these principles. The next meeting was attended by almost 200 people who adopted a working paper on principles for the N.Y. Greens.

In the interim a variety of Ad Hoc study groups had been meeting to develop ideas for organizational structure, issues & ac-

(Please turn to page 43)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AN AGENDA FOR THE DEMOCRATS

Tom Hayden

The following is from a position paper prepared by Tom Hayden for the California Democratic state convention earlier this year. The paper attracted a lot of interest at the convention and later. Pat Caddell has been recommending the work and Robert Squier called it "brilliant."

The shock of the Democratic Party's 1984 defeat has stirred widespread recognition of a profound historical fact: the Democrats have been experiencing a gradual death for five decades as a national governing party.

The massive Reagan landslide need be put in an even more towering context. Since 1964, fully 23 states have voted consistently for Republican presidential candidates, and only one jurisdiction—the District of Columbia—has cast its votes for the Democratic nominee without fail.

The number of voters calling themselves Republicans this year rose to historic highs, the exit polls showing the usual Democratic margin falling from 40-25 to 35-31. In congressional races, as many voters cast ballots for Republicans as Democrats, and the GOP made major state legislative gains in such Democratic strongholds as Texas, Florida, Connecticut, Ohio and Minnesota. The Democratic national ticket received one-third of the white vote and only a fraction more of the male vote, both all-time lows.

The big Sunbelt states of California, Texas and Florida now represent fully 36 percent of the 270 electoral votes needed for the presidency, and their share will cross 40 percent in the 1990's. The thirteen western states held 734 of the 1967 delegates needed to nominate a Democratic presidential candidate in 1984. None of these are the traditional Democratic heartland.

Clearly the Democratic Party is well on its way to becoming a minority party on the national level for the rest of the century.

The purpose of Democrats in this winter of our political discontent must be to assess the fundamental reasons for this decline of fortune, and to rebuild the party as a vehicle for a new governing coalition. Another national Republican victory in 1988 would not only keep the White House in GOP hands for a likely two more terms, but significantly strengthen Republican changes to control legislative reapportionment, and therefore the House of Representatives, in the 1990's.

The 1969 forecast by Kevin Phillips of an "emerging Republican majority," which was aborted by Watergate and Vietnam, has now begun to acquire reality. The needs of the times will not be met either by clinging to past Democratic platitudes or becoming simply an echo of the Republicans. We reject the convenient analysis that Ronald Reagan was so popular, and conditions so favorable, that no Democrat could have won in 1984. We further reject the false hope underlying the notions that the Democrats did reasonably well at congressional and state levels, and that an economic downturn followed by Reagan's retirement will make '86 and '88 Democratic years once again. Though these claims have a ring of validity, the historical pattern of Democratic decline still calls out for a strategy more dramatic than hoping for a recession plus a telegenic Democratic nominee in 1988.

We also reject the tendency in the wake of disaster to jettison the party's historic role of representing the disadvantaged by a "shift to the right." Opportunism is not the only possible response to the failure of entrenched Democratic dogmatism. America already *has* an effective Republican Party; what it lacks is an *alternative* that speaks to a majority.

The Democratic Party is partly a victim of its own success. The unemployed of the 30's having been transformed (with their children) into the middle class of the 80's, it is no surprise to see many of them lose their loyalty to traditional Democratic programs which take their tax dollars. The segregated South having been transcended by the civil rights advances of the 60's, makes it further predictable that many Dixiecrats will gravitate to the Republican orbit if the Democrats seem to speak primarily to southern black needs.

Underlying the party's crisis is a change in America's role and power in the world, a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

technological revolution, and demographic and cultural changes making this society permanently different from the 30's and 40's when Democrats grew to dominance.

Put simply, America no longer is the singular world power we were in the wake of World War II. As other nations recovered from that devastation, we were the financial pillar, productive engine, and military policeman of the Western world.

Thirty years later, however, changes in the nuclear and military balance have eclipsed America's moment as a sole superpower. Furthermore, other nations have matched or overtaken us in economic and technological competition.

The Democratic Party's "golden years" paralleled America's robust period from 1940 to the 1960's. But as the world of easy U.S. dominance gave way to serious competition (in different ways, from the Soviet Union, the Arab oil producers, and Japan), America experienced its first downturn in the standard of living since 1929. As a direct result, the "glue" of the Democratic coalition—the Keynesian ability to finance social programs out of economic growth—began to collapse. The Democratic Party's politics of income redistribution through growth had reached its limits, and the middle class revolted.

In foreign policy as well, Democrats were perceived as not doing anything about America's decline. National figures were defined as anti-Vietnam and anti-defense spending (McGovern), soft on Islamic terrorists (Carter), pro-Third World radicals (Andy Young). While voters were also anxious about the hawkish militarism of a Ronald Reagan or Caspar Weinberger, they were not sure whether the Democrats had a national security and defense policy at all—except to try "negotiations" in a seemingly irrational world of fanatics. Again, the Democrats had been undercut by changes in the real post-Vietnam world that made "dovishness" by itself seem unrealistic.

Then came the "new patriotism" wave of the past two years, and again the Democrats were at a marked disadvantage. Republicans had long promoted a blind and narrow devotion to "our country, right or wrong," trying to wrap both the Vietnam War and White House wiretapping in the flag of "national honor" and "national security." Democrats, by contrast, represented the riskier stuff of dissenting from war and demanding that America live up to its ideals for all citizens. In the aftermath of the long and ignoble experience of Vietnam, however, many middle Americans legitimately longed for reasons to take pride in this country. Republicanism, despite its hype and perhaps because of its nostalgia, seemed the most plausible badge of expression for patriotism in 1984.

In the face of these trends, many principled liberals will opt for the strategy of promoting the Democratic Party as a "party of access" (in Tom Wicker's fine phrase). In this view, the Democrats' function is to promote unpopular causes like defense cuts, and rights and opportunities for the excluded—symbolized by Geraldine Ferraro's and Jesse Jackson's candidacies—rather than build a winning but centrist coalition. Thus arises a rationale for accepting minority party status, except for times of Republican self-destruction like Watergate. This view, put simply, is that the Democrats should function to raise new issues which will ultimately prevail in spite of short term electoral defeat.

Despite its obvious integrity, we reject this argument as well. In the first place, it confers an aura of righteousness on a political strategy of defeatism. While winning is not everything in life, it is the only real function of a political party in a two-party system. If the Democrats became only a vehicle of protest, without hope of winning and governing, truly issues-oriented people would probably work outside the electoral system and average voters would defect either to Republicanism or to apathy.

We believe it is possible and necessary to combine vision with pragmatism, to win votes and preserve our souls. In our generation, this hopeful prospect has been overthrown more than once by assassination. We believe that John and Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, represented the possibility of reconciling the cause of conscience with the politics of pragmatism. In particular, Robert Kennedy was a national Democratic politician who could have held together the divided constituencies of this party—the sons and daughters of those immigrants who made the American journey to respectability, as well as newer generations with their impatient aspirations for change.

Because that possibility has been alive though elusive in our lifetime, we believe it can still be the Democratic Party's historic mission: to balance and unite an America which now is divided but yearning for a new consensus on how to progress, not at the expense of each other but together as a nation. The three Americas which the Party must address are represented by the three competing candidacies of the 1984 Democratic presidential primaries:

1) The New Deal Democrats from the industrial heartland, with their historical belief in strong government, labor organization, economic security through protectionism and entitlements, and a foreign policy based on the World War II experience of fighting for democracy;

2) The New Politics generation of Democrats with their greater suspicion of government and belief in high-tech entrepreneuralism, environmentalism, pluralism, protection of the quality of life, and a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

foreign policy based on the Vietnam experience of avoiding entangling alliances with military dictatorships; and

3) the "underclass" of excluded constituencies who have benefitted little either from the age of the machine or microchip, nor from their disproportionate sacrifice in America's wars, who still languish in poverty and dead-end futures.

A new Democratic coalition must not only meet the needs of all these constituencies to win, but must capture the support of the independent voters as well, to govern and unify America effectively.

The watershed years for the Democratic Party will be 1984-88. Another Democratic defeat in 1988 will mean a disastrous decline of possibility for this generation. A Republican victory in 1988 may well institutionalize a historic realignment at the national level, set in motion a similar change at state levels, and cement the conversion of the next generation of new voters to Republicanism.

The basic struggle ahead in the Democratic Party is *not* between "left" and "right," dove and hawk, but *between old and new.* The goal must be a *new governing coalition* to be an alternative to both Reaganism and the outmoded aspects of the New Deal coalition. In 1984 certain candidates projected a politics of "the future." In a short while, that theme will be outmoded. *The future has already begun.*

We in California have a special stake and role in the crucial 1984-88 period. This state has 47 electoral votes, the largest bloc in the nation. California has only gone for a Democrat twice in this century. We are a prism of the changing America crying out for leadership. California is the Japan of the United States, with our emphasis on high technology, innovation, education, diversity. We have an enormous number of independent voters. We are home to so many new minorities from Central and Latin America and the Pacific Rim, that our schools are correctly seen as the "Ellis Islands" of the late 20th century.

And here is our lament: It is virtually impossible for a Democrat to be elected president without California. Yet our state is treated as a peripheral region by Washington-based traditional Democrats. We are a fund-raising colony for national candidates. But our advice is usually ignored. We are viewed as outside the mainstream. The national ticket sends an "arrogance express" of inexperienced outsiders to manage its campaigns here, not trusting California's judgment.

THEMES AND DIRECTION

To win, the Democratic Party will have to change its mind but not its historic soul. That soul has embraced the growth of opportunity and dignity for all our citizens, a sense of social responsibility for each other, and a belief in citizens participating in the decisions affecting their lives. Those values have both enduring merit and political acceptance.

But the Democratic Party does in fact need "new ideas." By this phrase we do not mean any specific and detailed programs in particular, though those are needed. We mean by "new ideas" a new orientation to the world, a new awareness of a changing America, an ability to relate traditional values to new realities.

We do not mean a new image, though that too is very important. We mean a new vision for a new age. We must be a party of idealism.

We cannot return to the past. We cannot control the world, its people's aspirations or its resources any more than a few at home can control the many. That is the fatal flaw, the false promise, of the Republican vision and program.

ECONOMIC STRENGTH THROUGH INNOVATION

But we can lead ourselves and the world in a new direction. We are at the very beginning of a new technological age, as different from the past as the industrial-manufacturing age was from the agrarian time preceding it. New information technologies, as well as other innovations in science are emerging at a dizzying rate. By themselves, these technologies are neutral. In dangerous hands, they can be used for human and environmental destruction, or economic and social dislocation. Used properly, they can help create a new and better world, one in which millions are relieved of backbreaking labor, finite resources are conserved rather than wasted, food production is increased, advances in human health are accelerated, global communications are made possible for ordinary individuals, and the wonders of space are open to human discovery.

America's standard of living and way of life built in the industrial age is now being fundamentally challenged as we fall behind in the global "computer race" which will in all probability determine which nations possess the technological, economic and military edge for the rest of this century. *America urgently needs a new strategy for international economic competitiveness.*

In the absence of growth which depends on technological innovation, it is politically impossible to achieve a fairer distribution of income and expansion of opportunities. If the economy is truly a "zero sum game," it is hard to imagine the minority who are disadvantaged besting the majority who are not. On the other hand, a coalition of middle and lower classes on common interests has a significant chance of political success. In the current economic crisis, however, we are concerned that merely a shift

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of distribution is not enough. That kind of populism, however, could lead to defensive economic protectionism, subsidies to shore up the past, nothing beyond the New Deal. A shift of investment priorities is key, which requires a national consensus that brings government and economic leaders together around a common agenda. That is why it is crucial to complement economic populism with a plan to increase the competitive strength of the economy as a whole—which requires persuasive pressure on business elites to join a "new governing coalition."

The challenge for the Democrats—and for America—is to find positive ways to enter and provide leadership in the new information age. This is what the politics of the future is all about.

A narrow, conservative philosophy cannot accomplish this task successfully. Leadership must come from those who recognize a *positive role for government* (not simply a lesser one) in meeting the challenge of other nations with effective industrial policies. We should be urging a post-New Deal *partnership* between government, business, labor, education and public interest groups to effect a transition to an information-based economy where new technologies and industries are born at the same time that declining industries such as steel and auto are modernized. Such a framework holds the most hope for deficit reduction as well, by encouraging a compromise between tax reform and spending cuts phased-in over several years with a minimum of political scapegoating.

Leadership will have to transcend the traditional debate over "government intervention" versus "free enterprise." Instead, the public and private sectors must be regarded like Siamese twins joined at the back of the head, mutually dependent but unable to understand each other clearly. Government bureaucrats cannot be relied on as substitutes for entrepreneurs in the marketplace. But neither can business, with its focus on short-term profits, be expected to invest productively in modernization rather than merger-mania.

In fact, many of America's foremost achievements have been created through government—business partnerships with government in the leading role: land-grant colleges and the use of modern agriculture; the public university system, the electronics industry that arose from government-backed research and purchasing policies; today's biotechnology industry that emerged through a partnership of government grants, university research and entreprenurial ventures, and so on. These examples of spectacular achievement were not created either by the free market or the New Deal, but by an active public-private *investment in the future.*

Leadership will also require an understanding that restoring America's economic competitiveness has to be accomplished without trade wars flaring into military conflicts. Americans will not and ought not to accept the status of a second-class world power, but somehow leadership must eschew the simplistic dream of dominating every economic and military field of competition. We cannot insist that all products be "made in America," defeat every anti-American guerrilla, and expect a happy ending in every movie, nor do we need to in order to lead safe and satisfied lives.

Instead, the times call for new international economic relationships—consideration of a "common market" between the U.S., Canada and Mexico, recognition that the Pacific Rim is the world's most dynamic economic region, and a strategy for increasing Third World purchasing power for consumption of our exports.

To be credible leadership, Democrats will have to reorient their image and thinking in several key ways. First and most important, the politics of investment has to replace the politics of distribution as the Democrats' foremost concern. This does not mean becoming a champion of unlimited growth with all the corollary damage to the environment and quality of life. Nor does it require endorsement of "trickle down" theories. But it does mean having a foremost concern with investment in new technology, investment in infrastructure, investment in education and training, and investment in people's brainpower as the "raw material" of the economy of tomorrow. It means a priority on incentives which promote innovation and entrepreneurialism, disincentives towards paper mergers and frivolous consumption, an aggressive exports policy, and greater attention to whether (public and private) pension funds are being productively invested. None of this necessarily requires the intrusion of a new government bureaucracy to substitute for private forces, but it does mean a commitment to government as an activist, *consensus-creating mechanism* in the economy.

Lest this new emphasis seem untested, it is worth noting here that many of these initiatives are being successfully projected at state levels by Democratic governors—who, as a class, are probably the most effective new force in the Democratic Party. A new generation of leadership has found its opportunity at this level in such diverse states as California (under Jerry Brown), Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Arkansas, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia. These Democratic governors, ranging in age from the early thirties to the early fifties, have promoted high-tech investment, joint business-academic research projects, job training,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and educational reform in a remarkably unanimous way. Generally, they are not big spenders, favoring the efficient reallocation of existing money over raising taxes, while at the same time they seize available opportunities to expand possibilities for women and minorities, and remain faithful to environmental safeguards through such programs as toxic waste clean-up. While free of the burden of national and international dilemmas, they nevertheless suggest a pragmatic path to political success which is faithful to Democratic traditions.

For the theme of rebuilding the nation's competitive strength, however, Democrats might be most successful in a partisan sense, paradoxically by making a *bipartisan appeal.* In the 1984 election, we were deeply (and somewhat unfairly) stigmatized as a party beholden to special interests who benefitted from government programs. It would be a bold response for Democrats to call upon the leadership of the business community and Republican Party to join in a bipartisan coalition of cooperation necessary to arrange a new social contract between government, business, labor and America's have-nots. Without a new level of consensus (including sacrifice all around) replacing self-centered adversarial attitudes, Democrats should argue, America will not be able to compete effectively with other nations that already base their economic strategies on long-range collaboration between business and government. *Cooperation at home for competition abroad:* Not only would this be good politics; if implemented it would be the only conceivable way to transcend the inevitable paralysis of adversarial, "zero-sum" politics.

Just as the Democratic-initiated New Deal arose as a pragmatic response to the crisis of Depression, changing American attitudes to the proper role of government in our lives and building a national consensus that endured 50 years, the new partnership is likely to emerge in the 80's in response to the new international economy, once again creating a new consensus and coalition for the rest of the century. The only question is which political party will lead it.

QUALITY OF LIFE ISSUES

In addition to rebuilding the nation's competitive strength, Democrats can distinguish themselves effectively with independent voters through an array of "quality of life" and "populist" issues. All citizens, particularly in the major urban areas, should feel entitled to a *clean and safe environment, personal safety and security, child care and affordable housing.* They should also have confidence that government is shaping *pension plans, insurance rates, medical costs, utility bills and tax policy in the public interest* and the interest of future generations rather than immediate pressure. These issues cut across race, sex and class lines and are popular with large majorities.

While Democrats ought to shape a favorable, supportive climate for American business in the field of new technologies and international trade, the Party will also have to pressure corporations to behave in responsible ways towards their employees, consumers and the environment, even to the point of including qualified women, minority, labor, and "public" representatives in the corporate boardroom, promoting worker participation in production decisions, and employee ownership programs as well.

Many business leaders will resist any such ideas as government encroachment (just as many labor and progressive leaders will resist the "partnership" policy as too favorable to corporations). But Democrats will have to use persuasion and pressure to bring business into a responsive alignment with the public interest in these policy areas. It should be recalled that the New Deal, and the New Frontier in a lesser way, were ultimately beneficial to American business but were nevertheless resisted strenuously by corporate lobbyists and Republican politicians at the time.

Democrats will have certain problems with a populist, quality of life agenda, not only because of business opposition but because the affected interest groups have become major contributors to the Democratic Party during its years of incumbency. But these are surmountable political problems. On the other hand, the Republicans have greater difficulties taking the "public interest" side of these issues because of their ideological and organizational affinity with corporate special interest groups. For instance, they can be described accurately as *doing nothing about cancer* because of their ties to the chemical and tobacco lobbies and their hostility to corporate disclosure and workplace regulation.

A populist, quality of life issue which national Democrats rarely stress enough is that of personal safety in the face of violent crime. But this is a most salient issue among both traditional Democratic and independent voters, as state and local Democratic incumbents are realizing. In addition, the fear of crime is part of a larger public anxiety that "the center will not hold," that there is no longer a stable moral consensus being promoted in America.

While not solving the problem, Republicans have found it easy to capitalize on these themes, blaming crime and moral disorder on liberal "permissiveness." Meanwhile, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party has been legitimately concerned about civil liberties and due process, as well as long-range solutions to unemployment, poverty and racism. The result has been a void on public safety

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the national Democratic agenda. None of the 1984 Presidential candidates made crime a central issue when they campaigned in Chicago and New York City, choosing instead to debate the location of the U.S. Embassy in Israel.

In fact, Republicans can be made vulnerable on the crime issue for several reasons. Their stand on the death penalty, while popular, places an over-emphasis on a symbolic deterrent. Programs which actually *prevent* crime such as having such as having more and better police on neighborhood streets, citizen crime watch programs, subsidies for residential security systems, a "police corps" concept to provide scholarships to young people going into law enforcement, or a real war against drugs and rape, all run against the economic grain of fiscal conservatism. Finally, underfunding of public education and neglect of urban employment needs only make the potential time bomb bigger.

As in the other populist, quality of life issues, Democrats can and should *deliver* on programs that promote safer neighborhoods and more secure psyches.

SOCIAL ISSUES: FILLING THE MORAL VOID

On the larger question of the sense of moral breakdown, we have no easy answers, but the Democratic Party must address the crisis with more than copies of Doctor Spock and promises of jobs. The religious revival going on in America, like the emphasis on family and patriotism, is nothing less than a search by millions of people for an anchor in a troubled world where institutions have failed them.

The right-wing religious/moral agenda includes planks which are potentially repellent to a majority of Americans. How many Americans really want the state to intrude on their private lives? How many want their children to have to learn prayers written or approved by school board members? How many want a woman put in jail for having an abortion? What if she had been raped? These are not popular conservative positions, but Democrats have a credibility problem in putting forward an alternative.

Besides dealing more effectively with the crime issue, Democrats ought to be defining new approaches to other moral and social crises which give the appearance of a nation out of control, such as: *The moral void in public education,* which has given rise to "character education" experiments. Since the 1960's public education has been dominated by a "value free" objectivity, flowing from the obscure belief that school rooms should be neutral, and the better belief that students should be taught to think critically. This doctrine assumes that there are no values which Americans should hold in common, and leaves a vacuum for ethical education – which television fills with its own priorities and "values." It is partly for these reasons that vague calls for prayer in the schools or more discipline are attractive.

But there are certain values that bind us – including tolerance for diversity and dissent. Why not teach and promote the values of honesty and conscience, labor and enterprise, striving for excellence, the struggle for faith, respect for others, democratic decision-making, protection of the environment? *Immigration,* the refugee crisis and the problems of bilingualism: Democrats should say that administration policies have let the immigration crisis mushroom to uncontrolled proportions. Relations with our giant and permanent neighbor, Mexico, are low-priority compared to the East-West conflict. Our intervention in Central America's civil wars has sent 500,000 refugees (10% of the population of El Salvador) streaming to Southern California. They need political asylum until peace is restored and they can return home.

This crisis has led to simplistic but appealing calls by Republicans for eliminating bilingualism and establishing English as the official language of the U.S. We need an alternative that works before these appeals create the equivalent of a Proposition 13 of bilingualism, wiping out a whole program and leaving the chaotic consequences to the school systems and minorities. Some schools might need to be transformed into initial *orientation centers* with special resources to help the new arrivals obtain English proficiency and other skills basic to academic and economic achievement. Moreover, a massive upgrading of the teaching profession – raising salaries and overcoming teacher shortages in particular – is essential to dealing with this emergency of a mushrooming school age population falling behind in traditional basics and cut off entirely from the high-tech future.

Those are the sort of issues which, if neglected, will undermine the Democratic Party and tear apart the American fabric. Dealing with them honestly and realistically would go far to restoring the Democrats' credibility on social issues.

FOREIGN POLICY

On foreign policy, the Democrats' dilemma is how to create an alternative to Republican cold war militarism without being "soft" towards national defense, the Soviet Union and international terrorism. Most independent voters can be persuaded of the dead-end and unrealistic nature of cold war policies. Democrats are on solid moral and political ground when stressing the need for a nuclear freeze and negotiated arms control agreements, the avoidance of future Vietnams, the illusory hope of finding a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

military solution to social unrest in the Third World, and the importance of dealing with hunger, underdevelopment and exploitation in the newly-emerging nations.

But the Democratic weaknesses in foreign policy are manifold, and hard to resolve without splitting the party. The very strength of an emphasis on "negotiations" can be turned upside down into a perceived weakness. The voters trust and prefer diplomacy as a first option in any conflict, but they also want to know if Democratic leaders recognize any limits to negotiations and where the use of force begins.

The Democratic dilemma is how to draw this line—which is a vital prerequisite for a national governing coalition as opposed at a loyal opposition—without mimicking the Republicans and touching off a divisive rebellion from the strong peace wing of the party which tends to oppose military intervention anywhere, supports unilateral nuclear arms reduction initiatives, and favors cutting the military budget as a matter of principle.

In some degree, this split among Democrats is generational, and will have to be healed internally before a credible unified posture can be presented to a wary public. Among presidential Democrats in our lifetime, only John Kennedy managed to combine a post-cold war idealism with a tough minded military approach (thus displeasing many, but not most, of the emerging dove and hawk viewpoints on the foreign policy spectrum). Lyndon Johnson then pursued a bellicosity that proved disastrous and divisive in the extreme. Next, Hubert Humphrey was unable to break with Johnson over Vietnam, for apparent reasons of institutional loyalty as well as reflexive anti-communism. Subsequently, George McGovern, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale have been perceived as sincerely dovish, but lacking the undefined yet necessary "strength" American voters expect in a president.

Hopefully the fissure between the Cold War and Vietnam generations of Democrats is being healed through experience and dialogue. The earlier generation has presumably learned that not all conflicts are rooted in Soviet expansionism, that new socialist Third World states do not have to be inevitably targeted for military overthrow, that revolutions against feudal or colonial regimes have an inevitable quality, and that domestic American anti-nuclear or anti-intervention movements are healthy rather than subversive or naive phenomena. And similarly the Vietnam generation has learned that the Soviet Union (while not planning a Red Dawn) has betrayed its own historic ideals by oppressing much of its own population as well as legitimate nationalist impulses from Poland to Afghanistan; that anti-colonial revolution (while inevitable) can bring dangerous and irrational new tyrants to power; that the rights to citizen participation (while often slow in bringing about change) give the United States and other democracies a special importance in a world of political authoritarians and cultural fundamentalists.

The wings of the Democratic Party represented by the 1984 presidential candidates need to resolve their historic foreign policy differences. They already agree on certain fundamentals—negotiated efforts at nuclear arms control, reliance on diplomacy in Central America, the human rights policies begun under President Carter, the unprecedented Egyptian-Israeli recognition embodied in the Camp David Accords, the need for eliminating waste in the military budget, and the need for a greater emphasis on such non-military crises as international trade imbalances, spiralling and unresolvable debt, and dramatically improved north-south relationships. There also are disagreements which will not be resolved easily—Jesse Jackson's identification with enemies of Israel will not and should not become Democratic doctrine, nor will the advocacy of an increased military budget by unreconstructed party hawks. There also are areas where party leaders can be far more assertive and unified—opposition to US involvement in South African apartheid, identification with Poland's workers, and pressure on our Japanese and European economic rivals to bear a larger burden of their own military budget, to name three of the most important.

Perhaps the most crucial foreign policy area where a new definition of "strength" is needed is economic rather than military. Our immediate future as a strong nation is threatened more by Japanese computers, German cars and Saudi Arabian petrodollars than by Russian tanks. An *economic* nationalism, a patriotic pride in the quest for superior quality, American education, inventiveness and products, can be a potent alternative to the pure militarism at the core of Caspar Weinberger's definition of strength.

Such an approach is right in substance. Who, after all, would make an argument for policies leading to the decline of quality and economic competitiveness? In addition, economic nationalism represents a challenge that individual Americans can take up as a peaceful channelling of the desire to remain safe and strong. Some Democrats will be legitimately concerned about any form of patriotism going amok—into the scapegoating of foreigners for all of our domestic ills. But that dangerous trend is already occurring and may well be further encouraged by right wing demagogues. A responsible economic program can point to results that will combine American pride with humanitarian and internationalist impulses—saving lives by new medical technologies,

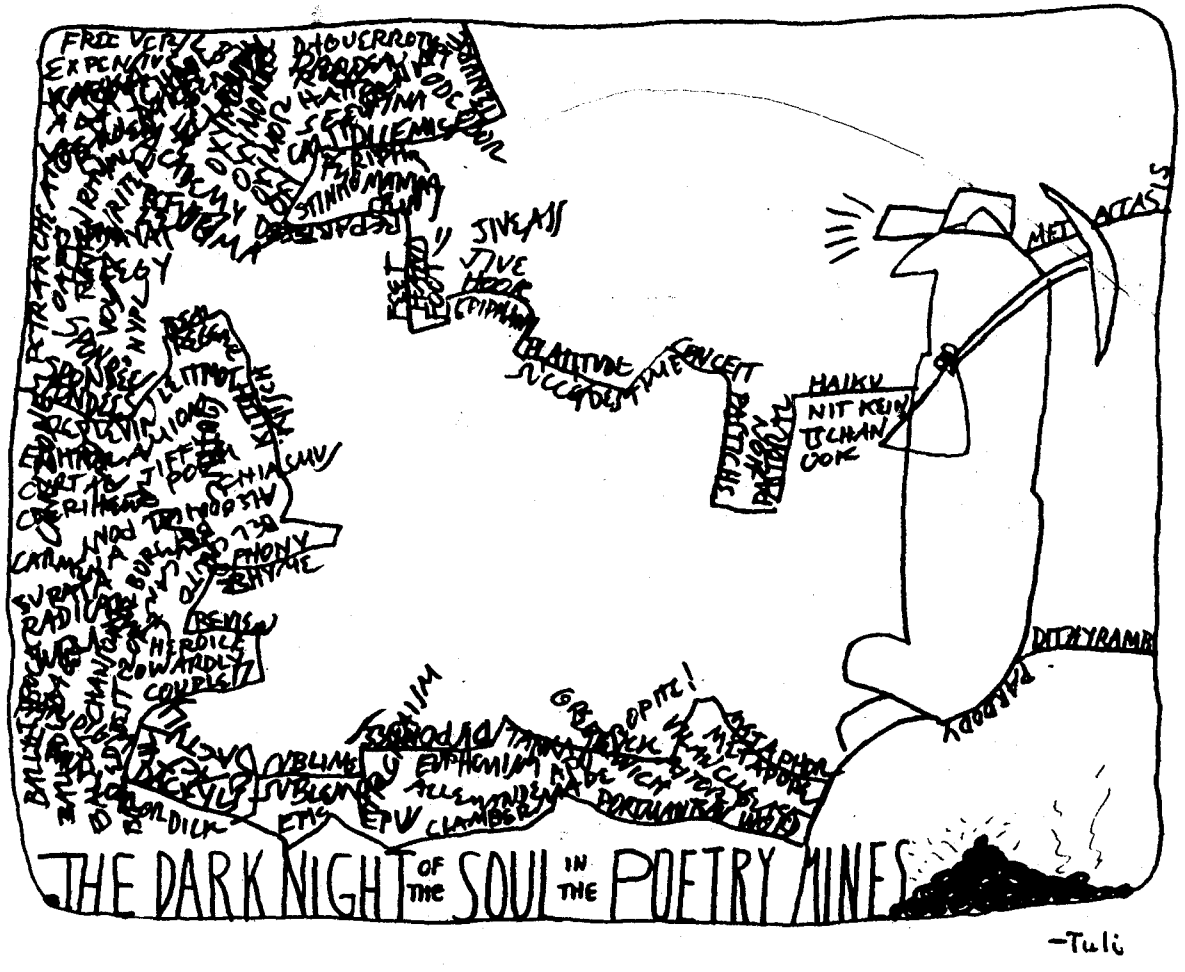
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

saving labor by new computer technologies, saving fossil fuels by new conservation technologies, to name a few. Politically, this approach is appealing because it touches the feelings of humiliation and decline of the industrial heartland as well as the aspiration for new frontiers of possibility represented by independent voters in the sunbelt.

CONCLUSION:

The themes for Democrats proposed here are all related. A new strategy for economic innovation, a stress on populist quality of life issues, a new decisiveness on social issues, and a new definition of strength in the world—all represent a realistic attempt to preserve and enhance the interests of a majority of Americans during a time of vast international and cultural change. Democrats must define an alternative to both the false Republican nostalgia of 1984 as well as the appearance of accepting America's decline. There *are* limits to America's role in the world, and a clock of patience is in fact running out because we are only 5% of the global population but consume 40% of all resources. However, there is no "era of limits" for ingenuity, technological innovation, resourceful planing or any new insights that can improve the human condition —and America, with different priorities, would be well endowed to lead a struggle for expanding the use of brain power instead of simply that of brute power.

The times call for both vision and discipline now—not a postponing of the future which will only overwhelm future generations with the burdens of the arms race, deficits, and decline. Vision is necessary in a free society to inspire people to sacrifice in the present to build for the future. Discipline is necessary to prevent a free society from sinking into the excesses of its material accomplishments and losing its moral compass. Both qualities are needed if democracy is to perform its function of revitalizing petrified institutions with new ideas, new challenges and new leadership. Only a Democratic Party constituted anew can move us in this direction.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIVE WAYS THE DEMOCRATS CAN GET OUT OF THEIR MESS

Sam Smith

1. Become democratic

Part of the distress of the American people is that they know, or sense, that power has been taken away from them. This has made them susceptible to anyone who promises to "get government off their backs." It also, however, makes them potential enthusiasts of any movement that restores democracy in this country, at whatever level. The Democratic Party has proved that it can't find its way relying on its national candidates and their bevy of consultants, fundraisers and pollsters. So why not take a chance, and let the Democratic constituency have something to say? One of the themes of the Democratic Party should be: we are the party **you** can participate in. There is very little interest, and in fact rampant paranoia, among the Democratic elite on this score. The reason often given is: look what happened when McGovern tried it? But the real reason is that the Democratic National Committee, the would-be national candidates, the Democratic governors and mayors, right on down to the local precinct leaders, would rather remain big frogs in their mud puddle even if it is drying up.

Democratizing the Democratic party should be done loudly and proudly. Instead of trying to prove to Americans how united we are, we should prove that the Democratic Party is where everyone can have a say. Yes, there will be battles and conflict — just as there were in the Republican Party as the New Right made its way up. But, whether we like it not, those conflicts produced eventually a winning party.

Instead of getting rid of even symbolic events like the mid-term convention, we should be devising more ways to have conventions, caucuses and debates in which large numbers of people can take part. Democratic clubs, with both social and political purposes, should be started in every community to help make politics a part of everyday life again. The party could make imaginative use of computers to poll, activate, inform and discuss with, its substructure. Further, convention delegate selection rules should be changed to lower the minimum threshhold for delegates, so the national convention truly reflects the party rather than some erroneous, and ultimately self-defeating, attempt at consensus.

The Democratic Party needs to reestablish its base among the people rather than, as has been increasingly the case, among those

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who "represent them." If the party has to make a choice it should go for the union members rather than the unions. The party has failed to appreciate the depth of institutional alienation in this country. Although the Republicans have been as institutionally bound as the Democrats, they have been far more effective in feigning interest in the American as an individual. The Democratic rhetoric and style suggests that institutions come ahead of people.

1. Rewrite the act and change the cast

Even if the Democrats could come up with the ideal program, it would probably fall flat because the theatre of the party is so hopelessly dull and unmoving. What red-blooded Democrat of a couple of decades ago would have suggested, as did Gary Hart recently, that we change our economic policies from laissez faire to aidez faire? If the Democrats want to win friends they are going to start talking their language and that means jettisoning the think-tank jargon, the Washington patois, and the modern politician's fear of parable and imagery. Just because Reagan does it badly doesn't mean it shouldn't be done.

Among the worst offenders are those Democrats who talk techno-twaddle. These politicians should be a little less high on technology and a little more high on people. It was fascinating that during the last campaign (and earlier one heard this of Carter), it was said that Gary Hart didn't relate well to people, as though this was some minor flaw that could be overcome by a sufficiently profound national investment strategy. A politician who doesn't "relate well" to people is like a gravy that doesn't relate well to heat.

The failure of the party's leadership to understand that politics is a form of living theatre is so great that they don't realize that what they've created is a collection of politicians so responsibly dull that they resemble nothing so much as a bunch of Republicans. Because Republicans basically don't want to do anything, they can get away with using humanoids as politicians. The Democrats need people who can restore the drama and emotion to their cause. And, aside from a few like Mayor Koch and Jesse Jackson they are not there. Certainly not at the top, where the chair, Paul Kirk offers this uplifting purpose for his party: "The Democratic Party should be run like a business and the business we're in is winning elecions."

3. Listen to the fringe.

The party has accepted the thesis, pushed in no small part by the media extremists of moderation, that its problems will dissolve in direct proportion to its proximity to dead political center. As Texas Agriculture Commissioner (and the sort of Democrat we need more of) Jim Hightower says, "All you find in the middle of the road is a yellow stripe and dead armadillos."

In fact, there are no ideas in the center. You find ideas the same place the Republicans did: at the fringes. The ideas may be too much or too early for the taste of a winning politician, but to treat any corner of the Democratic Party as too liberal or too black or too whatever is to condemn yourself to the type of Democratic politician described in a New York Times article on the party's "rising stars." It is almost tragically revealing:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

" 'I think a lot of these guys are still developing confidence in themselves and their ideas,' said one Democratic strategist, speaking anonymously. 'They're not sure what is happening out there or how they fit into it. . . .

"The party professionals say it may be too early to draw conclusions about the younger Democrats' political savvy and potential as leaders. But they say that the rising stars have offered few bold policy initiatives, that their central message remains vague and that in some cases their moves have suffered from a poor sense of timing and public relations."

They sound more like black holes more than rising stars but, significantly, the Times points out that "the new Democratic faces have nevertheless claimed a role for themselves in reshaping their party's priorities and image along more conservative lines."

Wonderful. Just what the party needs: more ways in which to make it seem a poor imitation of its Republican alternative.

Interestingly, in its current relationships with dissident voices within its ranks, the Democrats have achieved the worst possible bargain. It has placed itself in the position where it appears to have been bullied by groups representing blacks, women and others while still seeming to these groups to be highly indifferent and insensitive. This relationship could change if the determinant was not the reaction of the party's elite but the conviction of the party as a whole. In other words, if the Democratic Party acted in a truly democratic fashion, then these groups would win or lose their points on the basis of the appeal to the party as a whole rather then on their ability to twist the arms of a small coterie at the top. As long as the Democratic leadership insists on hogging the show, then if, say, Jesse Jackson succeeds in convincing Paul Kirk of something then, inevitably, it will appear to many that Jackson has an unreasonable influence over Kirk. In a more democratic environment, however, the focus would shift away from Jackson and Kirk and towards the issue itself and the reaction of the party.

So, by giving a forum for ideas out of the Democratic mainstream, the party might not only discover a badly needed new idea or two, but it could mitigate the impression that the party is being controlled by minority interests.

4. Become the party of decentralism

The Democrats should end their fedrocentric view of politics and become the party of true political decentralism. When the New Deal began, the political tradition of state and local government was one of incompetence, corruption and racial prejudice. Further, there is the unsavory past of state's rights being used as a tool for discrimination. This is no longer true. Many state governments, for example, could teach Washington a few things about running an administration.

But the bias against local control persists and because it does the party finds itself at odds with the intuitive feelings of the bulk of Americans, who want government to be as close and as unmeddlesome as possible. This does not reflect a perversity on their part; it is at the heart of the American idea, In fact, some of the earliest major changes in the American political system came not as a result of federal action but from a consensus of state initiatives.

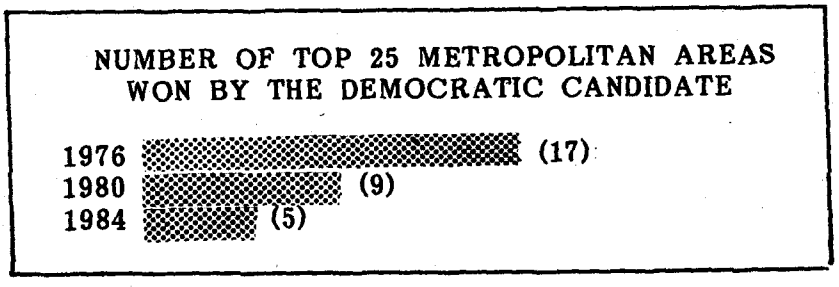
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Within a relatively few years after this country had become a union, the states, without federal legislation, had ended most property standards for suffrage, eliminated the legal status of women as chattel, ended slavery outside of the south, and rejected primogeniteur.

Even in today's conflicts, the effect of decentralized power is not as dangerous as we sometimes think. True, the Burger court has decentralized the definition of pornography, but would you really rather that every community have to accept the Burger court's own definition? Where would homosexuals be if their only legal recourse were passage of a federal human rights law? Would they prefer that San Francisco and Washington be governed by Congress's current inclinations on the subject? Would women prefer to rely solely on passage of the of the ERA? Even in human rights, the federal government is not inherently superior to the sum of its parts. And as the Green movement has shown, there is nothing mutually exclusive between the decentralization of power and humanistic, progressive politics.

One of the toughest problems the party would face if it embraced decentralist politics would be that it would have to turn its policies more towards the concerns of urban neighborhoods (where incidentally a lot of Yuppies live). This would bring it into conflict with its mayors who, especially in large cities, prefer to keep neighborhood politics at arms length and who practice a phony politics of economic progress that subsidizes large commercial interests in return for campaign contributions. But just as people elsewhere have turned against the Democratic Party as it moved away from their concerns, it may not be too much longer before the urban strongholds are threatened as well. Democrats who like to revel in their urban base should read the about what is happening to that base in the February/March 1985 issue of Public Opinion. James A. Barnes and John C. Weicher studied the 25 largest metropolitan areas and demonstrated how the Democratic presidential support in these areas was on the wane (See chart). Barnes and Weicher note that it is true the core cities went Democratic in 1984: "They always do. If they ever stop, the Democrats will go the way of the Whigs and the Federalists." But they also quote Kevin Phillips: "Twenty of twenty-five large US cities that lost population between 1970 and 1980 went for Mondale. Growth centers backed Reagan."

Ironically, the very policies of development being carried out by big city Democratic mayors may eventually erode the party's base, as the yuppification of the urban core increases. One way to combat this is for the party to become a party of urban neighborhoods rather than a creature of the mayors. Democrats should



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

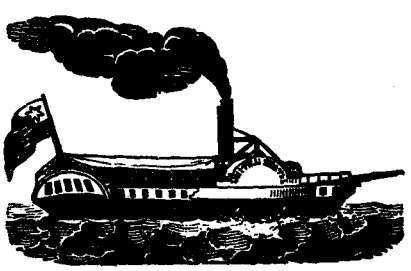
be at the front of every battle for neighborhood government, for more participation by citizens in local decisions, against the rape of communities by developers and speculators and, yes, even the Democratic city halls.

5. End the affair with big business

The Democratic party should get out of bed with banks, multinational corporations, monopolies, conglomerates, oligarchies, Washington legal hitmen, lobbyists and hustlers of all stripes. The Republican Party may be married to big business but the Democratic Party is its mistress. It has never confessed this to its constituents but they have figured it out anyway. It has to stop fooling around if there is to be any hope of revival. It can not go on talking economic justice on the one hand while, on the other, trying to beat the Republicans to the deal. A recent poll published in US News & World Report showed that 53% of Americans thought big business had too much power in our society — one percentage point more than thought the same about government. If there is anything that should divide the two parties it is the role of big business. Yet the Democratic Party has played dead on this issue. Issues such as excessive interest rates, unproductive mergers, monopolization, and financial institution practices that have put individuals' life savings in jeopardy have rated low among Democratic priorities. Small wonder the public doesn't understand what the Democratic party has to offer.

While attacking the aforementioned evils, the party should also stake out a claim to being the party of small business. In the first place, it is small business that provides the jobs in this country; the Fortune Five Hundred contribute little or nothing to job growth and, in fact, reduction of their own employment is one of their major objectives. Secondly, a small business-oriented program would bring the Democratic message into the small towns and communities of America where small business people are at the social and political center of things. The Democrats should stop trying to come up with programs what will keep Republican multinational board chairmen happy and find programs that will play in the Peoria Benevolent & Protective Order of the Elks.

With such changes in attitude and approach, the Democratic Party could begin to redeem itself. To attempt discover and form policies without such changes is like trying to drive a car with half the cylinders missing. In such a situation, it makes little difference where you say you want to go. You're not likely to get there in any case.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE 51ST STATE

KILLING THE GEORGETOWN GOOSE

Georgetown was too good for the city government to leave alone. It was bringing in a disproportionate share of the city's income; it was booming while much of the rest of the city's retail market was flagging. Further, at a time when the government was sliding into the hip pockets of the developers. it presented an almost irresistable opportunity: Georgetown, under the home rule government, had everything going for it except political clout. This meant that you could do anything you wanted to Georgetown and any complaints could be safely ignored or, better yet, used as another example of residual racism.

It wasn't all cynical. The Washington, and then the Barry, administration, sincerely believed that the salvation of the city lay in new construction: mostly office, but with some housing and a token amount of retail space. It was a belief that ignored the economic drain involved in tilting the city's employment towards the suburbs; that failed to realize that cities, like nations, can have trade deficits; that was indifferent to the value of community and to ambience; and that assumed, with a mixture of arrogance and naivete, that buildings rather than people should determine the economy and sociology of the community. But having accepted this principle, Georgetown was, politically, a highly desirable target. It had already proved itself a money mill; there were no poor or blacks to displace; there was an area south of M Street that had considerable development potential and, besides, who's going to feel sorry for Georgetowners?

So the excessive and insensitive waterfront scheme slowly took form. And as it did, the ABC board was cheerfully granting liquor licenses over the objections of the local community. If there was any way to squeeze a few more bucks out of Georgetown, the city was on the case.

Then, this year, the party came to an end. The price the community had paid as a "revenue enhancer" had become too high for even the mayor's office to ignore. The agents of the city (including, ironically, investigators from the ABC board) laid seige to Georgetown in a manner reminiscent of a ghetto show of force. Only here, the law wasn't after druggers and whores, but jaywalkers, illegal parkers and pee-ers, and underaged drinkers. The police even set up a headquarters trailer on the Riggs parking lot to coordinate the sweep. The city, without ever admitting its culpability, had admitted that the goose that laid the golden egg was in deep trouble. Georgetown had turned into too much of a good thing; with no small amount of help from the planners and politicians, the golden ghetto was in danger of becoming another crummy urban strip, symbolized by word that a member of the president's cabinet had become fed up with the crime, noise, traffic and other aggravations and was selling his Georgetown house.

Unfortunately, the message to be found in this tale will undoubtedly be missed at city hall. There, as elsewhere in government these days, if things go awry you just add them to the list of matters to be contained. At worst, you call the cops, proudly announcing a war on this or that.

The tale could have been different. City hall, if it had been less greedy and more observant, could have found in Georgetown some important lessons about human and commercial ecology. It might have noted how a thriving business district could be created with no huge stores, with only neighborhood planning and with low density and height. It might have studied the relationship between the commercial development and the surrounding neighborhood, how Georgetown had successfully served both its own and the non-residents. It might have been struck by the role of simple things like the way Georgetown's narrow business streets could.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

create a sense of bustle without overcrowding, the ambience and efficient crowd distribution of strip shopping (considered so declasse by the planners), and the way one could easily escape from the bazaar to quiet tree-lined side streets. There were a wealth of lessons to be learned in Georgetown, lessons that could have been applied in other less fortunate communities dying for both a decent local economy and a sense of place. But our leaders missed them all; they basically asked one question: how can we get more out of Georgetown?

What has happened to Georgetown is not just unfortunate for that community; it is unfortunate for the rest of the city because, although atypical socially and racially and economically, the original planning principles of Georgetown offered sound precedents for other neighborhoods. And because of these other neighborhoods' poorer economies, sensitive government assistance along these lines would have been both needed and welcomed.

If the city had paid more attention to the success of Georgetown and less to the preachments of the Board of Trade, the citizens of upper Washington might not be faced with an invasion of fast food restaurants; 17 years after the riots we might think of Shaw as something other than either a ghetto or a gleam in the restorationist's eye; and something good might even have happened in Anacostia.

The fact is, despite years of boasting about economic development, the city has done virtually nothing to help neighborhoods anywhere in the city developed economically and socially useful commercial cores. Even where money has been spent, as on H Street NE, it has not been spent wisely. The change that has come there has come largely as a result of the catalytic efforts of a businessman, John Hechinger, who is rare among his colleagues for his willingness to do something without a massive handout from the public treasury.

Georgetown, being Georgetown, has the resources, to recover from its current troubles. One can imagine, in fact, a time not too distant when the Post writes of the Georgetown renaissance. Five will get you ten, though, that when that happens, someone will still be asking the politician downtown: what are you going to do for Anacostia? And if the question is asked more often, and loudly enough, something will be done. And, unlike Georgetown, it will be big, cold and ugly.

• Whenever anyone suggested that the statehood constitutional convention might be heading us for trouble by creating a philosophically attractive but politically doubious document, the majority of that body reacted as though the KKK had just marched in the door. Now that parts of the constitution are being excised in the interests of statehood being approved, there is a strange silence from those who were so adamant at the time of constitution-writing. It is hard, in fact, to understand what all the fuss was about.

REPORT CARD

Here's our scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action and one point for a public position taken without doing anything, or for a bill introduced. On especially important bills we give or take four points. Listed are the 1985 grades plus the cumulative grades since we began our scorecard in 1984. A grade of C or a score of 0 means the politician did right about half the time. Here are the latest additions:

• The mayor signed the rent control bill but we are only giving him two points because he did virtually nothing to prevent it from being watered down.

	1985 SCORE	CUMUL SCORE	1985 GRADE	CUMUL GRADE
CLARKE	11	7	A	C
WILSON	11	19	A	B
ROLARK	10	4	A	C
MASON	10	25	A	B
SMITH	7	1	B	C
SHACKLETON	2	-8	C	C
WINTER	0	-6	C	C
SPAULDING	-2	-22	C	D
JARVIS	-2	-27	C	D
RAY	-7	-19	D	D
SCHWARTZ	-7	16	D	D
KANE	-12	-6	F	C
CRAWFORD	-12	-32	F	F
BARRY	-2	-32	D	F
COUNCIL AV	-2	-8		

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WANDA WASHBURN
FOR SCHOOL BOARD

We are pleased to endorse for reelection for the Ward 3 seat on the school board Wanda Washburn who has proven to be an effective member of the board. She has been part of the school system's record of achievement, which includes bringing all elementary schools up to grade level on standardized tests and ending years of pointless confrontation within the board and between the board and the superintendent.

A secret plot to give Walter Fauntroy something to do? In any case, the tactically unsound approach to the constitution will probably continue to hurt the statehood drive in the future as members of Congress use it to cite the irresponsiblity of the residents of this town.

• Charles Cassell has been quoted in the local media as saying that the statehood movement only started six years ago. Next, Walter Fauntroy will probably be claiming he started it. So in a small bow to the honor of history let us recall that the statehood movement really began in 1969 when Chuck Stone, Doug Moore and Jesse Anderson held a news conference calling for statehood. A year later this journal ran the first article arguing the case for statehood and proposing the federal enclave as an end run around the seeming constitutional difficulties. In the fall of 1970, the Statehood Party was formed with Julius Hobson as its leader.

• The wit and wisdom of Marion Barry: Speaking of the bureaucratic maneuvering he accomplished in order to get rid of former chief purchasing officer Jose Gutierrez, the mayor said: "See, I was very smart about this. Jose did not know that I did not remove him from the policy office position. I detailed him for 60 days to the Office of Planning. He didn't know that in terms of personnel procedure. I cut a Form 52 on him. I'm smarter than he is, and, therefore, we got him."

And when Barry fired Guttierrez, he said: "I can tolerate management deficiencies *** but dishonesty and lack of integrity is something I won't tolerate for one minute." Save that one.

• John Wilson has told the Washington Times that he is "seriously considering" running for mayor. But Wilson added, "interest doesn't make a campaign. I need organization, money and resources." Meanwhile, Ward Sixers are expecting Ted Gay to take on Nadine Winter and in Ward Three, early probable starters include Jim Nathanson, Mark Plotkin and Ruth Dixon.

• They alway list the figure on a monthly basis, but it comes home a bit better if you realize that what C&P wants is $132 more a year from you for unlimited calls in the metropolitan area.

• David Clarke has been negotiating with Brussels to establish a formal relationship between DC and the Belgian city. Seems mostly symbolic at this point.

• Ann Stultz is the new president of the DC League of Women Voters, replacing Sue Panzer, who held the job for four years.

• Ethel Wiesser has stepped down after two years as convenor of the local chapter of the Gray Panthers.

(Please turn to page 44)

Roses and Thorns

• Thorns to the DC police department for charging an officer with destruction of property after he used a pen knife to puncture the tire of a car abandoned after a chase so the driver could not return and use the car again. Gary Hankins, chair of the Fraternal Order of Police, called the arrest of the officer "asinine." Inspector Jimmy Wilson said, "We can't have police running around slashing tires."

• Thorns to the DC public library for proposing a fine of up to $1000 and a one year jail term for failing to return overdue books. And thorns to John Ray for introducing legislation to require owners of vacant and boarded-up rental housing to get the property back onto the market or risk penalties that could exceed $100,000 per year. The resort to draconian methods to solve every urban problem, no matter how small, is one of the more disturbing tendencies of our era. This is how police states get started.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO SPOKE UP?

Protesting the Vietnam War

Who Spoke Up? American Protest Against the War in Vietnam 1963-1975, by Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1984.

reviewed by Robert A. Seeley

At 6 p.m. on November 13, 1969, forty-five thousand people, each carrying the name of an American killed in the Vietnam War, set out in single file through the streets of Washington. For two nights and well into the morning of the third day they came, twelve hundred per hour, across the Arlington Memorial Bridge, past the Lincoln Memorial, past the front of the White House, and down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. There each marcher read aloud the name of one of the dead and, passing on to the west front of the Capitol, placed the placard bearing the name of the fallen in one of the forty waiting caskets.

This was the March Against Death, one of the most powerful protests of the Vietnam era.

That Saturday, November 15, hundreds of thousands of people—young and old, students, workers, children, senior citizens—marched, without violence, to protest the war. The official crowd estimate was 250,000, the actual number probably closer to half a million. Hidden behind a barricade of trucks and buses, surrounded by federal troops at the ready, the President watched college football on television. The marchers dispersed and went home in peace.

Toward the end of the day several thousand protesters broke away from the main demonstration and marched on the Department of Justice. The police met them with tear gas. There was shouting and then fighting. Tear gas spread throughout Washington. Marchers waiting for trains in Union Station smelled it.

The story of November 13-15, 1969, is in many ways a history of the Vietnam protest in miniature. The March Against Death, with its homage to the dead, was "very nearly,...a national ceremony of solemn reflection and honor to the dead."

The main rally on Saturday was peaceful. The Administration affected to ignore it. A small action, not part of the main demonstration—and in fact not sponsored by its parent groups—was violent. The violence appeared on evening television news; the peaceful protest and the March Against Death drew far less coverage.

So it was with the peace movement. It was largely nonviolent. It attracted not only the young, not only students, but a cross section of Americans. The government seemed frightened of the protest, yet unmoved by its arguments. A small part of the movement turned to violence as the war went on. The violence is what the public remembers best.

Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan have documented in stunning detail the public protest against the Vietnam War. This was no easy task. Movement groups of the period came and went so fast that it was often impossible to keep track of them. Records

FROM CCCO NOTES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were few or, more often, nonexistent. No one —understandably—gave a thought to future historians. Stopping the war was paramount.

Most of the press never really understood the movement. Newspaper commentators portrayed it as a group of the young and disaffected, a stereotype that Zaroulis and Sullivan disprove again and again. Television showed a "revolution" in the streets that had little to do with the larger movement. Worse, toward the end of the war much of the press was intimidated by the rantings of Spiro Agnew and the veiled threats of the Nixon White House. Media coverage, a poor source of history at the best of times, gives even less help than usual to those who would understand the Vietnam protest.

But those who were there remember. Zaroulis and Sullivan draw extensively on interviews with movement participants, giving much of the book an immediacy not found in written records. Here is Sam Brown, one of the organizers of the Vietnam Moratorium, on crowd control the night before the November 15 demonstration:

> That night we had been worried about what would happen, because there were a lot of people just adrift in the city. We went to Wavy Gravy —he runs the Hog Farm commune [in New Mexico] and he's about the smartest person I know in terms of crowd control. "What are we going to do about all these people?" He said, "You create an alternative event." "Well, what?" "Buy me a hundred dozen kazoos, I'll fix the problem." So we had the world's largest participatory kazoo concert the night before [the demonstration].

There are dozens of similar stories in this book. They, or incidents like them, were the warp and woof of the Vietnam protest movement. Zaroulis and Sullivan have captured that most ephemeral and difficult of all histories—the small happenings that lie behind the great events.

But *Who Spoke Up?* is more than an oral history or a collection of Movement reminiscences. It is a detailed study, not only of the peace movement, but of the government's reaction to it and of public attitudes toward the war. It makes sense of events which, at the time, seemed hopelessly chaotic. It is the best and most readable account we have of the excitement and despair, the ebb and flow, of those terrible days.

This is a thoughtful book, full of questions that any future movement must address. Some of it—like the decline and eventual self-destruction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)—is an object lesson in how not to organize. One reads with dismay about the fragmentation of the movement even at its times of greatest influence.

(Please turn to page 43)

"Buy me a hundred dozen Kazoos; I'll fix the problem."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THOUGHT AND ACTION

SECRET CONTENDERS, Melvin Beck, Sheridan Square, $7.95. Beck, who spent 27 years in intelligence, first with the National Security Agency and then with the CIA, has written a book that sheds fresh light on the latter agency, in part because it offers no startling revelations. What Beck does is describe the way the cold war intrigue between the Soviet and American clandestine services actually operates. It is a picture that, in the words of Thomas Powers (who wrote the introduction) "looks silly, expensive and futile."

Pleasantly anecdotal, **Secret Contenders** implicitly explains why so many CIA escapades have gone askew: a case of ordinary people attempting to create extraordinary events. The CIA, of course, is not alone in this; it seems a symptom of our times that our characters can not live up to the plots they have devised. We accept this disparity and thus end up voting for a second rate movie actor as president and letting a huge bureaucracy play James Bond.

It doesn't work much better than the pencil bomb that didn't go off in one of Beck's abortive escapades. And Beck reaches some interesting conclusions about it all. Concerning double agents, for example, he writes: "I ultimately concluded that the largesse, persistence, and patience with double agent operations exhibited by both contending intelligence services, with little intelligence benefit to either, may signify that they engage in the game for the sheer psychological uplift."

There is the further suggestion that the propaganda efforts of both the CIA and the KGB are more directed to people in their own country than to "winning the hearts and minds" of those elsewhere. Says Beck of the Soviet Union: "The minds it seeks to win (and hold) are those already in the communist fold."

If you are looking for shocking revelations about the CIA, don't bother with this book. If you are curious as to why such shocking revelations keep cropping up, **Secret Contenders** gives an insider's insight that is more revealing than a half-dozen spy thrillers. — s.s.

• PEACE BOOKS FOR CHILDREN: Free, annotated list for children three to six available from Gryphon House. Send SASE to Gryphon House, POB 275, Mt. Rainer MD 20712

• NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF PEACEMAKING: By Robert J McSorley, SJ. Summarizes the arguments for Christian peacemaking. $7.95 from Herald Press, Scottdale PA 15673.

• ELEVENTH COMMANDMENT NEWSLETTER: Published by the Eleventh Commandment Fellowship which suggests that #11 is: "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; thou shall not despoil the earth nor destroy the life thereon." Recent issue takes exception to the theology of a well-known churchman who said, "When you've seen one redwood tree, you've seen them all." Back issues are $1 each from ECF, PO Box 14667, San Francisco CA 94114.

• PROJECT HOPE: Which in this case stands for Hispanics Organized to Protect the Environment. Started by the Citizens Clearinghouse Against Hazardous Wastes. Info: Marco Antonio Hinojosa-Oviedo, 703-276-7070.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• CITIZENS HANDBOOK ON GROUNDWATER PROTECTION (Wendy Gordon, Natural Resources Defense Council, 122 E 42nd St, NYC NY 10168, $7.50)

• FUND FOR THE ENVIRONMENT: When the Love Canal law suit was settled last year, the victims got $13 million and the lawyers got $6.7 million. One of the lawyers, however, promised that a substantial part of his attorney's fees would go to support of the environmental movement. To that end, Richard Lippes has established the Fund for the Environment. Info: Richard Lippes, Fund for the Environment, Allen, Lippes & Shonn, 1260 Delaware Ave, Buffalo NY 14209.

• JUSTICE FOR CHILDREN (PO Box 4226, DC 20015, $25 a year): Quarterly for people who work with or care about juvenile justice programs.

A coalition of activist lobby groups, including U.S. PIRG and the Union of Concerned Scientists, is urging citizens to write their legislators to ask them to repeal the liability limit imposed by the Price-Anderson Act for accidents at nuclear facilities. The Act, originally passed in 1957, now limits liability for an accident at a nuclear power plant to $620 million, only a small fraction of the potential damages of a major accident. The groups point out that the Act is a disincentive for safety at nuclear plants and it amounts to a large federal subsidy for the nuclear industry, which would be hard pressed to find full liability coverage form private insurers (in fact, it was the unwillingness of the insurance industry to cover the nukes that led to passage of the Act in 1957.)

The coalition is encouraging support for a bill, jointly sponsored by Rep. John Seiberling (D-OH) and Sen. Gary Hart (D-CO), H.R. 445 and S. 445, which would eliminate the liability limit and allow citizens to sue those responsible for any damages incurred in an accident.

--Steve Mouk, Columbus Free Press

Bumperstickers and T-Shirts

SANE's Charlotte chapter has a big selection of bumperstickers and T-shirts. Bumperstickers sell for $1.25 and include the following slogans:

ARMS ARE FOR HUGGING

ONE NUCLEAR BOMB CAN RUIN YOUR WHOLE DAY

HANDS OFF CENTRAL AMERICA

STOP THE ARMS RACE NOT THE HUMAN RACE

T-shirts come in sizes small, medium and large and cost $8, including postage.

Order bumperstickers and t-shirts from Charlotte SANE, P.O. Box 220101, Charlotte, NC 28222. ♦

• ORGANIZING FOR NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT (Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave NW, DC 20007, $4.00) A new guide that gives a good overview of a subject that every neighborhood organization should be looking into.

• BOYCOTT MCDONALDS COALITION: Vegetarians and others have organized this boycott until McDonalds allows nonwhites to purchase franchises in white areas, promises not to purchase animals raised on razed rainforest land, and adds a non-animal burger option to the menu. Urging people to write McDonald's president at McDonald's Plaza, Oak Brook Ill 60521. Info: BMC, Box 5333, Takoma Park Md 20912.

• ATTORNEYS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE: The Christic Institute (1324 North Capitol Street, DC 20002; 202-797-8106) is developing a network of attorneys crossing demoninational

(Please turn to page 44)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AVAILABLE THROUGH MEDIA NETWORK

"Comprehensive and practical, these publications are invaluable to media users concerned with social issues."

William Sloane, Librarian
Circulating Film Library, Museum of Modern Art

MEDIA NETWORK PUBLICATIONS

GUIDE TO DISARMAMENT MEDIA

(May, 1982; 8 pages) A directory of the best films, videotapes and slideshows on the arms race and disarmament. Includes advice on how to organize a successful screening, plus lists of distributors, low-cost film libraries and related resources. More than 10,000 copies in print! *$1.00*

UPDATE TO THE GUIDE TO DISARMAMENT MEDIA

(October, 1983; 8 pages) A listing of more than 50 new and recommended titles released since the **Guide** was first published in May, 1982. *$1.00*

GUIDE TO FILMS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

(January, 1984; 24 pages) Lively descriptions of 40 of the best films, videotapes and slideshows on the conflicts in this region, with special sections on Grenada, low-cost film libraries and speakers bureaus. *$2.00*

GUIDE TO FILMS ON REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

(July, 1983; 24 pages) A thoroughly researched, evaluative directory of 60 films, videotapes and slideshows on topics such as: hazards to reproductive health, childcare, birth control, gay and teenage sexuality single mothers, and the New Right. *$2.00*

GUIDE TO COMMUNITY MEDIA

(Summer, 1984) The first media directory to list titles on community issues such as: neighborhood development, housing, displacement race relations, tenant struggles and victories! *$2.00*

GUIDE TO FILMS ON ADOPTION

(1984) Thoughtful critiques on films concerning all aspects of adoption including: disabled children, older children and single parent adoption. Includes training films for social workers. *$2.00*

MOBILIZING MEDIA

(1983; 24 pages) A national report on how peace activists have used films and other media in grassroots organizing and education *$2.00*

To order any of these titles, please complete and return the coupon below...

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1984 NATIONAL DIRECTORY OF AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES ON NUCLEAR WAR AND THE ARMS RACE

(57 pages) Includes a comprehensive, up-to-date list of alternative distributors.
$4.75 for Media Network Members, $5.50 for non-members.

TAPING IT TOGETHER: A VIDEO MANUAL FOR COMMUNITY GROUPS

(1978, Urban Planning Aid, Inc.; 84 pages) A manual designed to show community activists how video can be used as a valuable tool in their work: video equipment operation, script planning and distribution. *$2.75 members, $3.00 non-members*

REEL CHANGE: A GUIDE TO FILMS ON APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

(1979, Friends of the Earth Books; 54 pages) This critical but entertaining guide provides a hard look at films on soft tech covering everything from methane digesters to energy-producing bicycles. Helpful reviews and distributor list. *$3.00 members, $4.00 non-members*

IN FOCUS: A GUIDE TO USING FILMS

(1980, Cine Information; 224 pages) A "nuts and bolts" explanation of how to use film resources more effectively, especially local sources of films and information. *$8.00 members, $10.45 non-members*

REEL CHANGE: A GUIDE TO SOCIAL ISSUE FILMS

(1979, The Film Fund; 140 pages) A beautifully illustrated, fully annotated listing of 500 different titles on a wide range of subjects. Complete distributor directory *$5.45 members, $7.45 non-members*

LIGHTS, CAMERA, ACTION! A GUIDE TO LABOR RELATED MEDIA

(1984, American Labor Education Center; 24 pages) Describes 400 Labor related films on issues such as Toxics and the Environment, Working Women, Corporations and Civil Rights and Minorities in the Workplace. *$2.50 members, $3.50*

GRAY PANTHER MEDIA GUIDE

(1983, Gray Panther Media Watch; 74 pages) Published to assist interested groups in monitoring and counteracting stereotypes and distortions of older people in the media, detailing criteria, methods, fundraising and advocacy. *$4.45 members, $5.45 non-members*

QUANTITY	ITEM(S) TITLE	COST	TOTAL

Please add 50 cents per item for postage and handling.

*TOTAL $*_____
*POSTAGE $*_____
*TAX DEDUCTIBLE GIFT $*_____
TOTAL ENCLOSED $_____
ARE YOU A MEMBER? ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

NAME (Please Print)_____ **ADDRESS** _____

CITY, STATE, ZIP CODE _____

Please return this coupon with payment to ***Media Network***, 208 W. 13th St., New York, NY 10011.
For more information call ***(212) 620-0877*** **INQUIRE ABOUT DISCOUNT RATES FOR BULK ORDERS.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REAGAN FILE

• Former deputy defense secretary Paul Thayer was sentenced to four years in prison for lying about multi-million stock deals based on insider information. Defense secretary Weinberger expressed regret.

• The Reagan administration found nine percent more documents to classify in Fiscal 1984 over the previous year, according to a report from the Information Security Oversight Office. There were over 19 million "classification decisions" in FY 84.

• Marianne Mel Hall, chair of the Coyright Royalty Tribunal, resigned her post in the wake of an outcry over her work on a book that denigrated blacks.

• New Jersey Representative James Florio points out that even as Reagan was trying to kill Amtrak, he issued proclamations for National Transportation Week and National Defense Transportation Day. The Federal Emergrency Management Agency said that Amtrak could be a "vital link" in coping with national emergencies. Florio says the president "wants to eliminate and praise the system all at the same time — it's no wonder the administration remains so popular."

• Ronald Reagan claimed that the Pope had been "most supportive of all our activities in Central America." The Vatican Embassy said that the Pope had not endorsed "any concrete plan dealing, in particular, with military aspects." And Archbishop James Hickey, speaking for the US Conference of bishops called military aid to Nicaragua "illegal, and in our judgement, immoral."

• The US Commission on Civil Rights has reorganized its state advisory commissions. There used to be 21 black chairs, now there are nine. There used to be 20 women chairs, now there are four. There used to be seven Hispanic chairs, now there are three.

• The editor of the Washington Times says the president has told him that the Times is the first paper he reads in the morning. The Times is run by the Rev. Moon's Unification Church.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

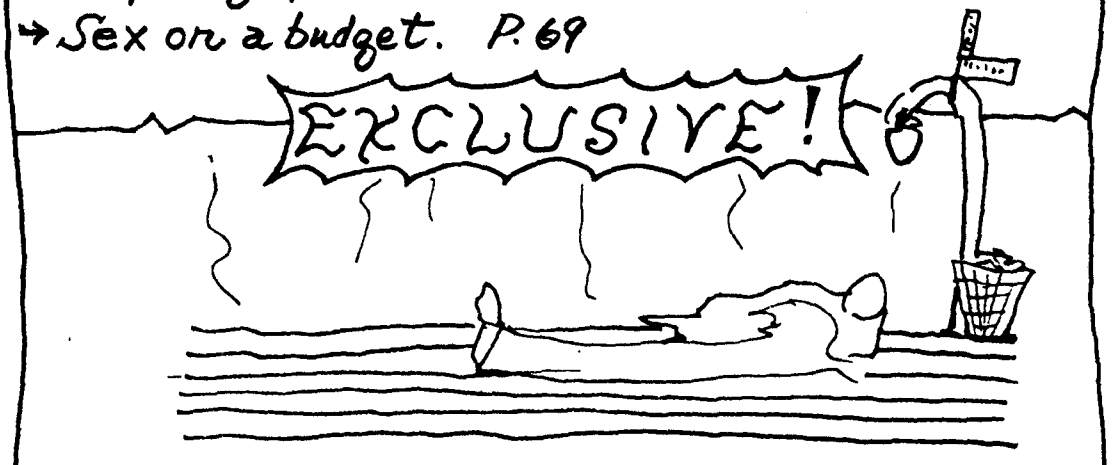
FILTHY TIMES

$ TRAFFIC CAN BEAR

A MURDOCH PUBLICATION
© ¢
DECEMBER

THE MAGAZINE FOR PEOPLE ON THE WAY DOWN

→ Cheese left overs. p. 11
→ When the IRA (or S) says: "Forget it!" p. 666
→ Beggors Franchises: Are they Worth It? p 0
→ Selling your fillings. p. 89
→ Tripling up. p. 33
→ Sex on a budget. P. 69



12 BEST GRATINGS IN NYC

— Tull

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORDWAYS

Mike Bell

If you look closely at any Norman Rockwell painting that contains a doctor, you'll notice that one badge of his profession is a black bag of curious shape: small and boxy, with a top section narrowing to a metal-bound ridge. This ridge is actually two flaps which, when opened, give the bag the look of a large eyeless frog full of medicine and doctor's tools.

This almost-vanished piece of luggage is the Gladstone bag, so named because it was popularized by William Gladstone, Prime Minister of England from 1868 to 1894. For wordwatchers, the bag evokes all the common (or once-common) objects named for their inventors, words whose connection to the proper name has usually been long forgotten. This tendency to name things after their inventors is not some stale and bygone trait of language, as the word **Dolby** should be sufficient to show. Indeed, it is often part of a formal and honorable tradition, which we invoke every time we refer to **volts, amperes, ohms, kilohertz,** and many other scientific units. In the field of gymnastics, if you invent a difficult maneuver and are the first to perform it, it will bear your name forever after: "the Emery," "the Planche," and so forth.

Most people can produce one or two examples, even if they don't know the reason for the word; for instance, it's pretty obvious that the **mackintosh,** as the British call a raincoat, must have been named after a human being. I don't pretend to know any more about the genealogy of this useful invention, and I'll bet the British have largely forgotten it too; today it is usually abbreviated to **mac,** as in the line from "Penny Lane": "And the banker never wears a mac in the pouring rain...very strange."

Some people can even give you a derivation or two. Many, for instance, know that **bloomers,** those billowy undergarments once worn by women—now found mainly in reprints of antique mail-order catalogues—were invented by one Amelia Bloomer. Quite a few people can tell you that **sideburns** were named for Gen. Amos Burnside of the Union Army in the Civil War; still others know that London policemen are frequently called "bobbies" after Sir Robert Peel, the organizer of the first London police force, back in the early nineteenth century.

Another famous word in this category—which usually has something of an underground circulation—is **crapper,** which, people will tell you, is named for the inventor of the flush toilet, one Thomas Crapper. Etymological anecdotes like this are usually unreliable—what John Ciardi calls "spook etymologies"— but this one, surprisingly, is mostly true. Mr. Crapper did not invent the flush toilet, but did patent a practicable one which was even appreciatively inspected by Queen Victoria. Our vulgar word **crap** is actually formed from the longer term by a process linguists call "back-formation," which also gives us words like **edit, housekeep,** and **burgle**—but that's a topic for another day.

Objects named for people are a rich category of words; the cartoonist Edward Sorel once did a whole book about them, which he called **Word People.** In it you'd find not only Crapper, Bloomer, Macintosh, and Burnside, but Dr. Guillotine, who invented a machine for dispatching enemies of the French Revolution and was himself dispatched by his brainchild. And Prof. Silhouette, who invented a technique of portraiture that used a lot of black ink. And the botanist, Mr. Dahl, who developed the Dahlia, and Mr. Poinsett, an American ambassador to Mexico, for whom the Poinsettia was named. And Julius Caesar, after whom all the Czars and Kaisers in history were named; and Mr. Doyley, who invented the decorative napkin for putting under vases and suchlike; and Mr. MacAdam, who invented a new topping for unpaved roads; and St. Martin of Tours, in whose honor was named the beautiful swallow, that great scourge of mosquitoes, that we call the Purple Martin.

(Please turn to page 45)

Copyright 1985 L. Michael Bell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARCHIHORSE

TODAY'S LECTURE IS:

CAMPUS WITHOUT LIFE

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN WASHINGTON D.C. IS UNUSUALLY WELL-ORDERED FOR A UNIVERSITY...

HEY, HEY!

SOUNDS GOOD

ITS CENTRAL SECTION IS ORGANIZED AROUND A TREE-LINED MALL WITH A LIBRARY AT ONE END & A CHAPEL AT THE OTHER.

THERE ARE DIRECTIONAL BOLLARDS ON THE MALL THAT POINT OUT BUILDINGS, & BENCHES THAT OFFER A CHANCE TO SIT & TALK..

LIBRARY

ANDERSON

CLARK

BUT THE REST OF THE CAMPUS LACKS SUCH ORDER, SO THAT BUILDINGS NOT ON THE MALL SHARE GRAY WALLS INSTEAD OF CHEERFUL PATHS & PLACES..

IN FACT, GRAY WALLS DOMINATE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, COVERING UP PAINTERS, POTTERS & CHEMISTS, MAKING IT HARD FOR STUDENTS TO LEARN ABOUT ONE ANOTHER...

HEY BUD - WHERE'S THE ART?

C'MON, POT!

PAT, PAT...

OTHER GRAY WALLS COVER UP RESTAURANTS - EVEN A PUB - LEAVING ONLY A SMALL CARRY-OUT IN THE OPEN, BESIDE A PARKING LOT..

AND, WHAT ABOUT THE COFFEE?

SLURP!

THERE'S A REAL BOOK STORE HERE, BUT IT IS MORE THAN COVERED UP - IT'S BURIED IN A BASEMENT..

I WON'T EVEN ASK ABOUT BOOKS!

A UNIVERSITY CAN BE A MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS - A BUSY, OPEN PLACE THAT HELPS STUDENTS MIX THEIR LEARNING WITH THEIR LIVING.

WEBB 685

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY-LIKE MANY AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY - IS A SEPULCHURE OF IDEAS, A PLACE WHERE LIFE IS WALLED UP & OUT..

HEY, YOU USED TO ASK FOR ORDER!

NOW YOU SAY YOU WANT LIFE?

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY COULD HAVE BOTH: 1 IT COULD HAVE ORDER - EVEN BEYOND ITS MALL, BY EXTENDING TREE-LINED PLACES THROUGOUT ITS CAMPUS

AND AND?

GO ON!

AND 2, IT COULD ALSO OPEN ITS RESTAURANTS ONTO SIDEWALKS & DECKS, & ITS STUDIOS & LABS ONTO THE CAMPUS & LIFE

YOU DID IT! YOU DID IT!

YOU TOUCHED ON BOTH YIN & YANG!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHUCK STONE

Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela never wavered when he scorned South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha's offer of commutation in exchange for a renunciation of violence as a vehicle for freedom.

It would have been so easy for the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress of South Africa to let expediency seduce conscience.

He could have been reunited with his loving wife and family and could have walked in the sunshine of his back yard. But the release from South Africa's prison of apartheid would have meant eternal imprisonment in a cell devoid of self-respect.

How could he embrace Botha's obscene hypocrisy? Had not the Boers subjugated black South Africans through the identical violence that Botha was now asking Mandela to renounce?

Instead, Mandela joined a minuscule but splendid number of heroes who could have recanted or surrendered and gone free. All of them chose the option of being willing to "die resisting than live submitting"—Martin Luther, Gandhi, Mordecai Anielewicz and Bobby Sands.

Some died. Others were spared by the inexplicability of fate's caprice.

In 1531, Luther was summoned by the Holy Roman emperor, Charles V, to the Diet of Worms and was ordered to recant the Protestant heresy of his 95 theses. Facing the possibility of death, the Augustinian monk refused.

I cannot revoke anything, nor do I wish to, since to go against one's conscience is neither safe nor right. Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen.

Luther wasn't executed, as were countless other heretics. Of far greater importance, however, was his readiness to die for his ideals.

Four hundred years later, Gandhi kept faith with the same choice of conscience over expediency.

My fasting is a matter between God and myself. My penance is the prayer of a bleeding heart for forgiveness, for sins unwittingly committed. . . . Progress is to be measured by the amount of suffering undergone. . . . The greater the suffering, the greater is the progress.

Accepting the pain of that logic, Mordecai Anielewicz made a similar decision to risk death in the Warsaw ghetto on Passover eve rather than betray his people through a safe surrender.

The last wish of my life has come true. Jewish self-defense has become reality . . . I am happy to have found myself among the first fighting Jews in the Ghetto.

Throughout history, each act is irreversible.

Once tyranny's dam is broken, the freedom fighter is swept up in his sea of conscience.

Bobby Sands rode that tide of Gaelic irrevocability.

Like Mandela, whom he admired and once wrote about, Sands refused to betray his glorious revolution.

Like Mandela, he inscribed an eloquence in humankind's hearts.

(Please turn to page 46)

One week after the disastrous assault on the MOVE headquarters in Philadelphia, a black postal worker seized several hostages after allegedly shooting his estranged wife's boyfriend. The man requested that Chuck Stone speak to him and take down his story. After Stone did so, the man released his hostages and a police sergeant convinced him to surrender. Stone has been involved in a number of these situations. Since 1977 35 suspects, including 19 men wanted for murder and four escaped prisoners have surrendered to Stone.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walter Mitty Goes to Washington

Martin Oram

Last night I had a dream. I dreamt I had become Secretary of the Treasury because I was an economic expert working the field of finance. The President had learned that I had headed one of the largest financial institutions in the United States. He had been convinced that it would be consistent with supply-side economics to have a financial expert direct economic policy instead of the Federal Reserve Board which is obsessed with the banking system and it limitations.

My years of experience in the Street had shown me that the Fed was not the place where the helm should be. Also, this fellow Keynes had some basic defects in his thinking. He recognized the key role of savings and investment, but not having worked the markets he did not know what had to be done to get them into sync and get these factors driving our economy.

Well, I settled into the Treasury job and quietly began to marshall my forces. For some time I had recognized the great concentration of savings which had been taking place. The Street had learned to harness this concentration by offering high interest rates to corporations, pension funds and, more recently, to the various forms of money market funds. With the power of these instruments as a fulcrum and the markets as the lever, I could really move the economy.

Also I could arrange to give the proper background to these programs. We were getting the right results by every so often feeding the Street with the necessary good news to stimulate the economy. This would give the market a good day which would maintain optimism for weeks into the future.

Then I thought that all this could be done even better if I had some help from my friends in government. Think what I could accomplish with helpful statistics on the economy at strategic times. We could frame official release of data to show at all times a healthy, strong economy — puff up the good factors and tone down or ignore the depressing ones, to produce a generally feeling of euphoria.

We did it. With four years of successful managing of the finances of the country we were getting along fine. The Fed was going along, not really knowing what we were doing but not opposing our activities, which was good enough.

I did have a couple of real problems, the two deficits (the federal deficit in the form of direct federal debt and its smaller companion, the international federal debt which was building up strongly, but not surprisingly). They would have to be handled but I could do it if we could just ward off major breaks in our credit markets.

Then I dreamt that I was appointed to be chief of staff at the White House where I could really continue my work with the markets and not appear so openly. Now I was in the position I had always dreamed of, running the financial economy from the pinnacle — a frightening height. So frightening that it woke me up.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LONDON LETTER

Des Wilson

Des Wilson chairs Friends of the Earth in Great Britain and has been a leader in the fight against lead pollution. He is currently heading a campaign for a British Freedom of Information Act.

Recently I received an expensive glossy brochure produced by an organization known as the "Lead Development Association." Its main purpose, it states, is to "promote the use of lead in all forms."

One page is headed: "Lead: metal of the future."

Metal of the future? Can this be the same metal about which the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution said "It is now one of the most widely dispersed of environmental pollutants ... there is no innocuous form into which it can be converted in the environment?"

The same metal about which the Royal Commission said: "We do not know of any other toxic substance which is both so widely distributed in human and animal populations and present at concentrations greater than even one tenth of those at which frank symptoms may occur ... we consider that the safety margin between the blood lead concentrations in the general population and those at which adverse effects have been proven is too small ... it is our view that it would be prudent to take steps to increase the safety margin of the population ... we are convinced that it would be prudent to reduce further lead's anthrogenic dispersal and man's exposure to it and we so recommend."

The Royal Commission was merely underlining what the US Environmental Protection Agency and numerous other objective scientific organisations said for years: namely, that lead is a neuro-toxin which at high levels of exposure can kill or make people extremely ill, and at low levels of exposure can affect the intelligence and mental functioning of children.

Compare, however, the views of these objective organisations, with the representatives of the lead industry: "Over the centuries, lead's unique properties have been harnessed in countless ways in the service of man ..." It continues: "The industry has taken major steps to ensure the highest standards of safety, health, and environmental protection."

What it doesn't say is that those "major steps" have always been forced upon the industry by governmental decree, and in each case after sustained battles by the industry to stop the measures being introduced. Even now the lead industry in the US is organising conferences on the effects of lead pollution, carefully choosing its speakers from those scientists funded by the industry, or known to oppose the view that lead is a serious health hazard at low levels.

Believe it or not, this column is not actually about lead. Rather it is about the kind of lobbying undertaken on behalf of polluting industries, such as the lead industry, and the influence these lobbies have. Lobbying has, of course, existed at a high level for many decades in the United States, and there are literally thousands of lobbyists in Washington to represent the interests of every kind of business and industry. In Britain, however, it is a relatively new phenomenon, although one that is increasing in size at an alarming rate.

The lobbying before the recent budget was unprecedented. There are two ways of looking at this: first, everybody, and that must include every organisation, has the right and should have the right to lobby politicians and the civil service on their own behalf. Such a right is essential to the health of the democratic process. On the other side, however, there is a real danger that the ability to lobby is dependent on the resources of the organisation concerned, and that undue influence is exercised by the most wealthy. Furthermore, much lobbying is secretive, and thus the extent that vested interests are influencing governmental decisions cannot be determined. Any consumer or environmental organisation will testify that it has an uphill task combatting the enormous lobbying resources available to industry. At least in the United States there is a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Freedom of Information Act and some opportunity of establishing what industry has actually been saying; in Britain we do not even have that weapon.

The extent that major industries can dictate to democratically-elected governments was illustrated by the behaviour of the tobacco industry. The government decided to ask the tobacco industry to publish tougher health warnings on cigarette packets stating "Smoking causes bronchitis, lung cancer and heart disease." Not surprisingly the tobacco industry did not like this, foreseeing that such "advertising" on their packets could well lead to a dramatic reduction in sales. The tobacco industry did not, however, just resist the proposal. It refused. What did the government do? The Health Minister was quoted in the Guardian as saying that "A voluntary agreement was the best we could achieve in a democracy." Why should this be so? If government desires to impose its will on ordinary citizens, for instance its recent decision to make it a crime not to wear seat belts, why cannot it impose its will on these industries?

Further, it insisted on a contribution of L11 million for health research from the tobacco industry. "However," the Guardian reported, "researchers accepting the cash will be banned, at the industry's insistence, from investigating the use and effects of tobacco."

The British Medical Association was quoted as condemning the limitations on the activities of the research. "The tobacco industry should not be allowed to attempt to buy off its responsibilities in this way."

Like the lead industry and the asbestos industry, the tobacco industry knows very well that it is responsible for a product that is a threat to human health. The only moral approach for such industries is to wind down their activities as quickly as they can find alternative employment for their workers. Instead, they adopt every public relations, lobbying, political, and other means to maintain their deadly business until such time as they are restricted, and hopefully, forced to close.

In the meantime, how do we at least control their influence?

First, we should insist on maximum freedom of information, so that it is possible to obtain copies of all submissions to government by industry during policy-making. It may be right that industry has the chance to seek to influence policy-makers, but it should be out in the open where it can be challenged and questioned.

Second, citizens have to organise to have their own lobbying organisations so that government feels the

(Please turn to page 46)

Harry Gabbett, a legendary reporter for the Washington Post, died last May. The Post's obituary contained some examples of Gabbett's writing that reminds us how bland so much current newspaper writing has become. Writing a retrospective on Washington's 1922 theatre disaster, in which a roof collapsed and 98 people were killed, Gabbett wrote: "It was the utter silence of shock. It gripped alike the dead who would never break it; the dying who would soon know it forever, and the injured whose impulses to voice their agonies somehow respected it. In the next instant there was pandemonium."

Gabbett liked employing what he called the "warped cliche," as in a story on a dinner at the Capitol, in which he wrote: "dress was optional, but everyone wore something."

And in 1968, Gabbett wrote this classic lead:

"Paul (Race Horse) Mitchell, 57, of one address right after another, died on the street here yesterday, unexpectedly, and after a long illness, but mostly from two bullet wounds in his chest."

The story ended: "The grief, if it may be allowed to pass for that, was dry-eyed enough but it had those overtones of sincerity which lend a definite, if indefinable, dignity to the human spirit on such occasions.

"This is to say that only one man was really glad the rascal was dead — and the police were looking for him."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHARLES McDOWELL

Out There

Take a Washington political reporter beyond the beltway and he gets mixed up about the America he routinely explains to people.

His assumptions wobble.

His cliches come unhooked and flap in the wind.

He encounters astonishments at every turn.

The world is different out there beyond the beltway. And beyond the Ohio River, well, it is hard to believe that those people out there are paying any attention at all to the thoughtful political analysis that is regularly handed down to them from Washington by newspapers, television and radio.

The worst of it is, of course, that the traveling reporter begins to take the provincial attitudes seriously. He gets caught up in unsophisticated notions. He listens. He blinks. He even nods and takes notes.

He forgets where he is from.

Fortunately, he is soon back in Washington, and America is quickly straight in his head again. His perspective is restored. He is able to begin telling America again what it thinks and what its prospects are.

Thus it was with my trip to Detroit. I met a good many people and took part in a forum concerned with politics. The people were kind and polite and they seemed conscientious about listening to the conventional wisdom from Washington. But did they ever have some strange ideas of their own!

Let's restrict this to one example: Those people take Lee Iacocca seriously as a potential president of the United States.

Some of them like the idea, some don't, but nearly all of them seem to be under the illusion that Iacocca, the chairman of Chrysler, is the kind of person that a lot of Americans might vote for.

The night I arrived in Detroit, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had a big dinner. Lee Iacocca was the main speaker. During the preliminaries, Carl Levin, a senator from Michigan and a Democrat, suggested Iacocca for president. Mayor Coleman Young, the leading Democrat in Detroit, seconded the motion. Sammy Davis Jr. was the entertainment; he endorsed Iacocca spontaneously.

In his speech, Iacocca ignored the praise but went after President Reagan and his policies hammer and tongs. He got a standing ovation.

The papers were full of it. And people told me that labor unions and a good many chamber of commerce types alike are in the absolute habit of giving standing ovations to Iacocca and urging him to run for president.

I talked with a local newspaperman who knows Michigan politics as well as anybody. He is even aware of Washington's view of politics—which is, of course, that Washington produces candidates for president and they are not corporate hotshots who talk tough and appeal to labor unions, the NAACP, business people and ordinary voters all at the same time.

The local authority reminded me that Iacocca's autobiography, "Iacocca," has become the largest-selling hard-cover book of non-fiction since the Bible. It is feisty, funny, patriotic, up-from-the-streets, plain and eloquent and—just to show you the breadth of its appeal—the book has sold over 200,000 copies in Japan.

The local authority also reminded me that Iacocca's television commercials for Chrysler—"If you can find a better car, buy it"—have made him one of the best-known Americans. He is additionally a shoemaker's son who worked his way up to saving a great corporation when it was done for, and then he saved the Statue of Liberty, no less, when it needed massive funds for restoration.

Iacocca personifies hard work, honesty and street smarts, the local authority said, and people do tend to admire those qualities more than political conventionality, reform commissions and caucuses. As a matter of fact, Iacocca's dim view of politics and politicians is the most popular thing about him.

But I am back in Washington now and everything is coming back into focus. Washington is still the center of American politics, and anti-political mavericks like Lee Iacocca, Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter can't be elected president.

Richmond Times Dispatch

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vietnam

Yet there is hope here as well. The movement *did* make a difference. The 1969 demonstrations, for example, probably prevented the Nixon Administration from undertaking a far wider air war than it did. This is not, in the last analysis, a sad or depressing story.

Who Spoke Up? is not the perfect or final account of the Vietnam antiwar movement. The early chapters of the book devote a good deal of space to the history of SDS, probably out of proportion to its real role in the movement. Later on, there is no mention at all of draft counseling, one of the major grassroots movement activities, and only very brief treatment of the GI Movement of the early 1970s. There are other omissions.

But these are minor and, given the book's focus, understandable flaws. SDS receives much coverage as a kind of rebuttal to the media, which considered it the major antiwar organization. Zaroulis and Sullivan show that this perception was wrong. Draft counseling is omitted because this is a history of public protest; the GI Movement can be and has been the subject of a book in itself. The full history of antiwar actions in the Vietnam era is the subject not of one book, but of many.

Those who lived with the movement in those years were frustrated and often startled by its public image. Weatherpeople, Yippies, Crazies, Mad Dogs —all the violent fringe that dominated the media —had little to do with movement reality. In an era when the President speaks of the Vietnam War as a "noble effort," when nonviolent protest is so easily submerged by the media's concentration on the visual and spectacular, we need reminders that protest is not futile, that, as David McReynolds says, nonviolence is "as American as cherry pie"—and that many people thought the war was not.

Who Spoke Up? goes far toward redressing the balance. It portrays the public movement and its private agonies, and it does its job well. It is essential reading for all Americans. □

Green

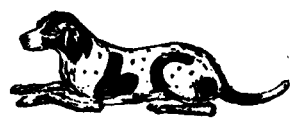
tions, outreach, fund-raising, newsletter, and other issues of concern to the group. All of the meetings were held as a participatory assembly, which combined discussion in plenaries with small group discussions to insure the participation of all present. Decisions have been made on a consensus seeking basis and so far unanimous consensus has been reached on a number of important questions.

The New York Greens have chosen to move slowly, avoiding publicity or other forms of P.R. hype which might disrupt the organic growth of their organization. Similar organizing strategies have been utilized nationwide, and the greens are increasing their contacts daily. Over 4,000 letters have reached the C.of C. and been passed on to the appropriate regional groups.

As the Green organizing effort gains momentum several major issues are still to be determined. Will the greens emerge as a movement or a party? Will their focus be a holistic process of cultural reconstruction or will they confine themselves to a narrower political agenda? What issues will the greens make their own? Will a unified national movement coalesce around one of the existing networks or will a new national structure arise?

Given the electoral processes of the U.S. (very different from the proportional respresentation which brought the greens to power in Germany) is it possible for U.S. Greens to gain electoral successes? How will the greens broaden their constitutency to include more culturally diverse groups? Is a majoritarian movement possible, or will they function more effectively as a moral minority—pressuring the Mainstream to respond to their initiatives?

The answer to these and other questions remains to be seen, but one fact is clear: the greens are here, and they represent the coming together of a variety of strains in American oppositional politics, the first truly new movement of the 80's. Will they realize their potential as a force for social change? That will be up to all those who have a stake in seeing the green principles become a reality.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

City Desk

• Returns from the city's first voter mail canvas indicated that 28,000 persons on the rolls were either dead, had left the city, or had moved without notifying the elections board. Elections officials say this is higher than can be expected in the future since the canvas covers registrations dating back three years.

• John Wilson has introduced legislation that would require assessors to review a property assessment before the matter is appealed to the Board of Equalization and Review. The bill is being supported by Common Cause.

• Developers and land-dispensing politicians at city hall have their eyes on the St. Elizabeth tract. But citizens are getting organized to protect both the patients and the turf. There's a new group called Friends of St. Elizabeths, with Sally Horwatt as president and Barbara Bick as veep. You can join by sending five bucks to the group at 156 F St SE DC 20003.

• The Board of Trade Protection Act seems to have done its work; the number of street vendors appears down sharply. Inasmuch as the vendor business contributed almost as many new jobs as the mayor claims the convention center has, this assault on the vendors has got to win the masochistic legislation award of the year. If the country ever veers towards a policy of protectionism, Barry & Company could probably get good jobs at the Commerce Department. They certainly know how to write protectionist regulations.

••• In another example that raises questions about what sort of economic progress local officials really want, the city is planning to raise dramatically rents for sidewalk cafes. This two-track policy of giving big developers every break in the book and squeezing the little guy is both cynical and economically harmful.

• DC Hotline offers free training to volunteers who want to help provide telephone counseling and referrals to people in need. 737-CARE

• The Womens Employment & Training Coalition is a group of women, many involved in local agencies, who are trying to develop a profile of the needs of women in local employment. Participants in their efforts are being sought. Call Claudine Withers (887-0364) or Jennifer Tucker (332-7337)

• Collectors of Washingtoniana will definitely want the new panoramic poster photo of Washington being sold by the Orphan Foundation (PO Box 14241, DC 20044) for $15. The poster is one foot high by five feet long and consists of a nearly 360 degree color photo of the city taken from a hot air balloon moored on the Ellipse.

• The National Institute of Mental Health Laboratory of Developmental Psychology is looking for mothers with children ages two to three years to take part in a paid research project involving one two-hour visit to NIMH in Bethesda. Info: Dr. Karen Barrett, 496-4431.

Thought and Action

lines to deal with the legal problems of spiritually motivated people coming into confrontation with the government. The organization is looking for lawyers who can provide information, defenses, brief bank development and other services.

• SOCIALIST BOOKS, BUTTONS, BUMPERSTICKERS ETC: Catalog available from Socialist Party Favors, Box 8211, Des Moines IA 50306.

FIGHTING BACK: Lesbian and Gay Draft, Military, and Veterans Issues, a comprehensive counseling manual with analysis of pertinent regulations on homosexuality and step-by-step guidance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for draft, military, and veterans cases.

FIGHTING BACK is sponsored by the Midwest Committee for Military Counseling, and by the National Lawyers Guild's Military Law Task Force, Gay Rights Task Force, and National Committee to Combat Women's Oppression.

Single copies are available for $14.25, plus $2.00 postage from Midwest Committee for Military Counseling, 241 S. Wabash, Chicago IL 60605, or write for information on bulk pricing.

The Dream of an Impenetrable Shield: Ballistic Missile Defense in the Nuclear Age is a slide show for all audiences. Includes a brief history of ballistic missile defense, a critique of Star Wars, a clear explanation of the basic technology and the economic ramifications of deploying SDI. To purchase send $30 ($25 for each additional show) to Nuclear War Graphics Project, 100 Nevada St., Northfield, MN 55057, 507-645-7736.

Peace Catalog: 288-page collection of essays, articles, poetry and art on all aspects of peace, plus an 80-page directory listing 1,000 U.S. peace organizations and over 400 books, films and other resources. Contains solid information on the arms race, the effects of nuclear war, non-violent conflict resolution, economic conversion, socially responsible investment, visions for the future and more. Also filled with practical ideas for how to become involved in social change. Send $14.95 to Press for Peace, 5621 Seaview Ave., N.W., Seattle, Washington 98107, 206-784-1943.

Guide to the Military Budget: The latest edition of SANE's excellent annual 8-page summary and analysis of the military budget has just been released. Includes costs and brief descriptions of major weapons systems; a critical analysis of current U.S. military strategy; and SANE's vision of national security. Filled with charts and fully footnoted. 25 cents each, $18/100, $73/500. Order from SANE, 711 G St., SE DC 20003.

Pacifica archives

Non-commercial radio's oldest collection of programs is now accessible to the public. The Pacifica Radio Archive has completed a four year cataloguing project which now enables the public to look among the listings of the 20,000 tapes for those historical programs of particular interest to them.

This project was funded primarily by Pacifica Radio listeners and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Pacifica Radio Archive chronicles major developments in science, healthcare, psychology, foreign and domestic affairs, social movements, and arts and cultural affairs since 1949.

Among these tapes are interviews, lectures, documentaries, performances, readings, and actualities. These are distributed for broadcast to non-commercial stations throughout the United States and in Canada and Australia. Tapes are also used by colleges, universities, schools, libraries, and individual scholars, writers, listeners, and media producers. The new microfiche catalogue uses standard MARC formatting and follows established Anglo-American cataloging rules. In addition, the subject listings system is based upon the Library of Congress Subject Headings 9th Edition with some special categories created for Pacifica's unique collection. People interested in obtaining a copy of the catalogue or more information about the collection are invited to contact the Pacifica Radio Archive at 5316 Venice Bl., Los Angeles, CA 90019.

Wordways

I could go on with words named for people, and if you don't watch out, someday I probably will; but I'll end for now with one of my favorite examples, a first name rather than a last. The Watergate scandal of the 17th century, as you may remember from high school history, was the "Gunpowder Plot," in which a band led by one Guy Fawkes planned to blow up Parliament. Somehow this event evolved into a folk celebration which has become the British version of our Halloween, in the sense that kids dress up and solicit goodies on the same day every autumn. The custom is to make an effigy of rags and old clothes and cart him around the street, asking passersby for spare change with the traditional "Penny for the old Guy?" "Penny for the Guy, mister?" (T.S. Eliot immortalized this line in *The Hollow Men*.)

Eventually the old Guy, capital G, became the old guy, small g, and you can see how it wouldn't be long until the word became just a general synonym for "male person." In colloquial English today you usually say "guy" when you need a word that includes both "man" and "boy." It is probably the most common **spoken** designation for males in America today. The odd thing about this is that British English, where the term originated, hasn't followed this trend; the English still have a tendency to say "chap," and when they use "guy" they sound like they're imitating the barbaric version of English employed by Americans.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stone

I am standing on the threshold of another trembling world. May God have mercy on my soul . . . I was thinking about the hunger strike. People say a lot about the body, but don't trust it. And then, from the last entry of his diary, *They cannot or never will break our spirit. I rolled over again freezing, and the snow came in the window on top of my blankets. "Tiocfaidh ar la." (Our day will come.)*

And so will the day of the African National Congress of South Africa.

When it comes, remember Nelson Mandela's historic words:

It was only when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

Let him renounce violence.

Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid.

Let him unban the people's organization, the African National Congress.

Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom.

I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and fathers who have grieved and wept for them.

I am not less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free.

What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work?

What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts.

Your freedom and mine cannot be separated.

I will return.

Philadelphia Daily News

London Letter

pressure from both sides of the argument. Opposition political parties cannot play this role; they simply do not have the resources and detailed knowledge to act as a counter-balance to industrial lobbies.

Industries expand across the world to become multi-national industries, so we need also multi-national citizens' organisations to confront them.

That said, I return to the communication from the Lead Development Association: there is also an invitation to lunch in order that we can discuss "the environmentalists' view" of their product. I have replied that my view can be summed up in one sentence– "We should move as rapidly as possible to the production of alternatives so that there is no need for the use of lead at all."

In order to assist the lead "developers" to undertake the research for this, I have declined their invitation and saved them the expense of the lunch.

It would perhaps be helpful if politicians who receive such invitations do the same.

Apple Pie

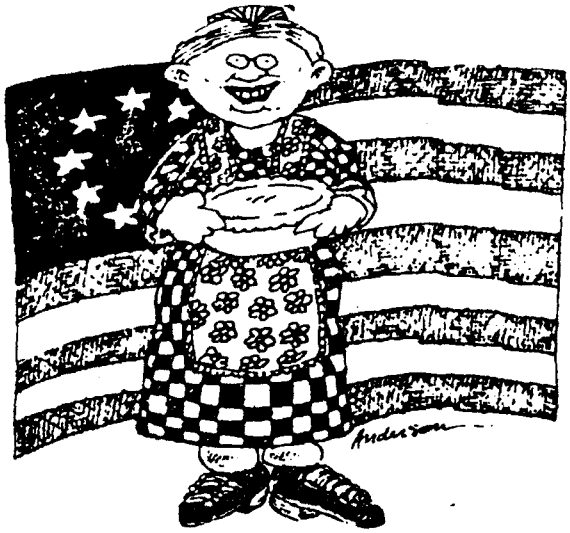
The biggest library in northeast Connecticut doesn't have a card-catalog–but it does have waitresses. "The Traveler" restaurant in the town of Union has 50-thousand books on hand for diners to peruse and take with them. Owner Martin Doyle gives away about two-thousand volumes a week, but people keep donating more. Anyone can take a book, he says. "They don't even have to eat here."

America's changing drinking habits are causing a liquidity problem in the bar business. The average customer is consuming 10 percent less booze than in 1978, a sobering statistic for a business where the profit margin on drinks can be as much as 80 percent. Some bars figure that if folks won't drink, maybe they'll eat. One texas chain has expanded its menu by 25 percent. Says a spokesman: "It used to be liquor supported by food...now it's going to be food supported by liquor."

Supporting Subscriptions

Many small circulation political and alternative journals keep going with the aid of supporting subscribers who contribute a sum in addition to the normal subscription fee to aid the publication in its work. You will note on your renewal form that there is such a category. We hope you will indicate your support of our efforts by subscribing with a contribution above the normal fee. Or you may renew right now by sending us your mailing label and a contribution. Mail to the Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Apple Pie

Parents in Atlanta persuaded judges in a spelling bee that the words being used were too difficult. Among the words objected to was "morigeration," which means "obsequiousness."

L. Douglas Wilder, a black state senator in Virginia who wants to be lieutenant governor, attacked the Republican candidate for governor for a remark that he said could be interpreted as racist. The GOP candidate had called Wilder the "most liberal individual ever to seek statewide office." According to Wilder, in Virginia at least, "liberal" is a code word to raise racist fears.

The advertising blitz for New Coke was a stunning success, according to Coca-Cola officials: 81% of the public knew about the new formula within 24 hours and 83% said they were willing to give it a try. Said Coke president Bryan Dyson: "To find an event that comes close to that kind of awareness, you'd have to go back to Neil Armstrong's walk on the moon." Working on the project, incidentally, were a bipartisan pair of political flacks, Pat Cadell and Richard Wirthlin.

A University of Washington psychologist is disputing the Rand-McNally study that ranked Pittsburgh as America's number one city. Geoffrey Loftus says the "Places Rated Almanac" ignored a psychological principle known as the "Weber-Fechner Law." This law states that there is a bigger difference between being number one and number 25 than there is in being number 225 and number 250. Thus, using a variety of indexes and then ranking cities based on their sum can be badly misleading: it can, for example, put Pittsburgh in first place. Loftus suggests using the product of the cities' index ranks rather than the sum. Under this system, San Francisco ranks first instead of Pittsburgh, which slips to 12th place. New York, which ranked 25th according to Rand McNally, moves up to 2nd place, and Washington, which ranked 15th, takes over the third spot.

The Southern Libertarian Messenger tells of the marine who applied for conscientious objector status and was told, "If the Marine Corps wanted you to have a God, they would have issued you one."

Women who work in a whiskey factory in Glasgow, Scotland have been on strike because their management has been monitoring the amount of times they go to the bathroom. The women walked out after their supervisor began clocking them in and out of their visits to the toilets. The company claims that the women were taking time off to use the toilets for "a smoke and a chat." Workers at the factory said the management tried to set a figure on the amount of times the women visited the toilet, saying that a medical certificate should be sought by those wishing to go more than three times a day!

—Big Mama Rag

(Please turn to page 46)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Progressive Review
1739 Connecticut Ave NW
Washington DC 20009
ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Free Trial Subscription!

We would like to introduce you and your friends to the Progressive Review, a journal of progressive politics and ideas that has been comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable for more than 19 years. If you are a hard-core recidivist progressive, or just feel you may not be getting the whole story from the conventional media, you will want to read the Review. If you and/or your friends are not past or present subscribers we will be glad to send free trial subscriptions. Just fill out the form below and mail it to us. **Of course, if you already believe in what we are doing, we would welcome our regular $6 subscription or a $20 supporting subscription.** If you do send in the regular fee or a contribution, we will send you a copy of **Flotsam & Jetsam**, a book-length collection of essays by Review editor Sam Smith.

MAIL TO: The Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave NW, DC 20009
( ) $6 regular subscription ( ) $20 contributing subscription ( ) Free trial

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ **ZIP** _____

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ **ZIP** _____

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ **ZIP** _____

COMPLIMENTS OF _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED